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ARTICLE I.

THE EMPEROR NICHOLAS AND THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF RUSSIA.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE empire of Russia is a stupendous mystery. Much as its principles have been discussed, its *autocracy*, the spirit of its political and religious institutions, its internal and external policy, appear to be but imperfectly understood. Even the neighboring governments of Europe, whose interest it is to guard themselves against its grasping ambition, are by no means agreed in their estimate of its prevailing character, its strength, and the spirit and aims of its diplomacy. It extends over one half of Europe, and the whole of Northern Asia, from the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean, and includes vast territories on the north-western coast of North America. Its population, including Poland and Finland, is said to be 57,000,000, and to be composed of nine different races of men, considered in respect to their origin. These are distinguished into eighty tribes, differing in language, religion and manners, from the rudest state of barbarism to the highest degree of civilization. Yet they are all Russian subjects. The government is an unlimited monarchy, and the whole state, though it is divided into fifty-one governments and several provinces, is nevertheless one and indivisible, and is under the absolute control of the "Autocrat of all the Russians." The prevailing religion is that of the Greek church, while all Christian sects are said to enjoy equal privileges.

Such are the accounts we have of Russia, through its own historians, who, writing as they do under the terror of a vigilant censorship, can be expected to publish only the most favorable representations of the government. These accounts are conveyed to us principally through German authors, who also labor under similar restraints, and may be presumed to be in some degree interested in representing the state of things in Russia as, on the whole, favorable to the advancement of the cause of civilization. Such has accordingly been, with some diversities of opinion, it is true, the general impression produced upon

the civilized world. This impression, however, cannot long remain, unless the grounds of it shall be found, on a more thorough examination, to be satisfactory; and facts have transpired in respect to the secret transactions of the Russian government, within a few years past, which indicate the possibility, at least, that the tendency of things in that vast empire *may* be the reverse of what we have been led to hope. The representations contained in the following article are astounding. We cannot vouch for their entire correctness. It is impossible to determine how much the opinions of the writer may be influenced by his attachment to that party in England which is opposed to the measures of the present administration in respect to the Eastern question. But whatever may be his prejudices against Russia from this source, it is apparent that he is thoroughly acquainted with his subject, and the documentary evidence with which he supports his assertions is sufficient to arrest the attention of every reader. Who can doubt that there are more facts, of a similar kind, on the same field from which, notwithstanding the difficulties of obtaining them, there have been gathered so many? But we will not detain the reader from an article which we have ourselves perused with the most intense interest; though we confess that the mysteries of the empire to which it directs our attention, are to us, at present, unfathomable, incomprehensible! SB. E.D.

From the British and Foreign Review for January, 1841.

MUCH has been published, and still more said, respecting the Emperor Nicholas. To women he is described as a good husband and a most affectionate father; to the Tories as a stanch ruler, and one of the pillars of conservatism in Europe; and the Radicals are told that his bearded Russians carry civilization at the point of their lances, and that Bashkir, Circassian and Turk are alike regenerated by their genial influence. The prime minister of this country, at a public dinner, declared him "inferior to no man in the world in truth, in honor and in justice;" whilst O'Connell in the House of Commons pronounced him "a miscreant." A traveller, not one of those whose judgment was blinded by the crafty wiles of an artful despot, but who observed him closely, has stated that "Nicholas is not a devil, but no angel either." From such a heap of various and contradictory opinions, proceeding from natives of the same country, who by their education and national prejudices might be expected to have formed similar judgments, what conclusion can be drawn? We remain as much in the dark as ever respecting the true character of Nicholas; and if we learn any thing, it is rather what he is not than what he really is. This disagreement of opinion has its source in the partial or rather superficial views that have been taken of him. Has any one yet described him in his principal character, as ruler over a territory, than which a larger is not recorded in history? Has any one attempted to estimate his merits as arbiter of the destinies of a conglomerated population of fifty millions, consisting of races, some akin to each other, others wholly differing in origin, in language, in manners, in religion and is

civilization, and all depending upon him for the improvement of their condition, both moral and physical, for justice and for happiness ?

We are far from wishing to disparage the domestic merits of the Czar, as manifested in his affection for his family, although even these have been questioned ; but we cannot join that class of writers who seem to think that they deserve greater commendation from being found in the person of the Czar than in that of the meanest of his serfs. They are inherent in the nature of man, and as usual in his moral, as the desire of eating and drinking is in his physical constitution. Such instinctive feelings are scarcely entitled to praise at all. Each individual character has its appropriate standard, whereby it is and ought to be measured. The actor is valued according to his qualifications for the stage ; the general for his conduct on the field of battle ; a constitutional sovereign for his observance of the charter ; and, in like manner, an autocrat must be tested as an autocrat, by the manner in which he wields his irresistible sceptre, and by the motives which impel the actions, for which he knows that he runs no risk of being called to account. To test the character of such a ruler as the Czar is no easy task ; and to form a correct judgment of it at the first glance would be almost miraculous ; since it is in the nature of despotic governments artfully to conceal one portion of their deeds and to misrepresent the other. Few travellers in Russia have sufficient penetration to discover this fact. From the first step they take in that country to the last, the impressions they receive, at the Russian capital and at their audience of the emperor, are alike as delusive as the mirage which mocks the wanderer in the sandy plains of Egypt ; and on their return home they relate these as so many positive truths. Our effort shall be to enable our readers to view these objects in their true bearings, and then Nicholas and his government will appear such as they really are. We are not of those who hurry over countries only to be deceived.

The true character of the Emperor Nicholas, as a ruler, may be best shown by placing it in juxtaposition with that of Alexander, his immediate predecessor. Alexander was ambitious of being beloved by his subjects ; Nicholas scorns their love, and is determined to be feared. Though his figure is finer and more commanding than that of Alexander, he is less pleasing ; his aspect is stern, and no smile graces his lips. Alexander was mild and affable ; severity looks out from beneath the brow of Nicholas ; but though insolent and harsh, he has an air of distrustful timidity. The traits of his character resemble those of his ferocious brother Constantine, with this material difference ; that as the fury of the latter was vented upon individuals, that of Nicholas is directed against classes of men, races and whole nations. It is reduced to a system, and therefore the more frightful and pernicious. Ferocious as was Constantine, he not unfrequently repented of the evil he had committed, and would even make reparation when it was in his power, to those whom he had wronged. Not so Nicholas ; however he may err, he never repents. Cruel by nature, it is a remarkable fact, that during his reign no sentence of a court-martial, on being presented for his signature, has ever been known to be cancelled or even mitigated by him, and most frequently

he aggravates the penalties. The religious creeds and liberties of the various nations subject to the sceptre of Alexander were respected by him; Nicholas evinces utter disregard of them, violating alike charters and privileges, oppressing alike religions and sects. Alexander appears to have had some affection for the Poles, or at least seemed anxious to gain theirs by flattering them with the hope of preserving their nationality. The very names of "Poland and Poles" are abhorrent to the ear of Nicholas; he cannot endure them, and would rejoice that the whole population of Poland had but one neck, that with his own hand he might cut it off at a blow. This hatred it is that urges him to endeavor, with the concentrated force of his despotism, to erase that nation from the memory of man, and to wage, as he is doing at this moment, a barbarous war of extermination against its language, history and religion. Alexander was fond of science and the arts, encouraged learned men, and bestowed upon them rank, honors and rewards; Nicholas affects to do the same, but in reality he looks upon them with aversion and distrust; for he suspects them, in common with all enlightened and upright men, of a crime unpardonable in his eyes, namely, liberalism (*volnodoumstvo*). The most infamous characters, robbers, highwaymen, felons of every description, may hope to obtain his pardon for their crimes; but let every liberal man beware how he comes within his reach, if he would avoid being doomed to perish on the Caucasus. Alexander established colleges and schools for the encouragement of learning and the arts; he restored a Polish university at Wilna, and founded another at Warsaw. Nicholas has abolished both, together with most of the schools existing in Poland; and in those that remain, he has introduced the most compulsive system of corrupted education. There was no difficulty in getting access to Alexander; the humblest peasant could approach him with a petition; and he was distinguished for his courtesy to men and his gallantry to women. Nicholas is as inaccessible as he is inexorable to his unfortunate subjects, and brutal both to men and women. His courtesy to the empress seems intended only for outward show, as he is known to be both imperious and harsh in private; and if the example of licentiousness which he sets be followed, his court runs great risk of becoming as profligate as that of Catherine II. All the men who were held most in esteem by Alexander are disliked by him, and some among them have become the objects of his most cruel persecution. It must be acknowledged to the credit of Alexander, that he did much towards civilizing Russia by introducing into it European industry and improvements; but Nicholas barbarizes by prohibiting his subjects from travelling; and thus cutting off in a great measure their intercourse with other nations, hopes to facilitate his meditated conquest of the adjacent countries, and his project of trampling under foot Europe and her civilization. Alexander, at least during the first years of his reign, was liberal; but in this respect also, Nicholas has shown himself the reverse of his brother, for he hates liberty alike in his own empire and in others. Countries, enjoying a popular form of government and liberal institutions, are abhorred by him as his natural enemies. The sound of the drum and the peal of cannon are the music in which he most

delights; he can conceive no higher standard of excellence than Napoleon, and no sublimer plans than his; it is in fact to this *idée fixe* that Prince Leuchtenberg is indebted for obtaining the hand of his daughter. He is susceptible of no gentle affections, no generous emotions, no magnanimity. Even in his youth, when it was his custom to drill his soldiers in his apartments, he was always provided with a whip, and would flog them mercilessly for the least inaccuracy; and if on meeting one of his guard in the streets, the man did not salute him in a manner that suited his fancy, or happened to have a button of his uniform unfastened, he put him under arrest for several weeks, or degraded him to one of the regiments of the line. Now that he is emperor, those who incur his displeasure are marched off to the Caucasus. Cruel and inexorable himself, he dislikes men of a different disposition; to witness concord and friendship is offensive to him, and he is much better satisfied when dissensions arise at his court or amongst foreign nations, which latter he is ever ready to foment by his secret agents, "*Divide et impera*" being his motto. The commander of a regiment, who does not behave ill to his officers, and encourage these in their turn to illtreat their subalterns, is despised as unfit for service, and soon dismissed. Even his own son, the presumptive heir of the crown, has, on account of his little disposition to cruelty, received from him the appellation of "old grandmother," and his tutor has been rebuked for giving him that turn. All established customs and judicial forms must give way when one of his fancies intervenes: his will is a decree, and brooks no delay in its execution. From his military predilections, the Czar will devote hours to drilling a company of raw recruits, which could be equally well performed by any corporal; but he will give himself no trouble respecting the civil government of the state, and still less for the administration of justice. He does not, indeed, object to sign decrees for the augmentation of imposts; but if any of the oppressed serfs present to him a petition complaining of injustice, both the petitioner and the writer of the petition are sentenced to Siberia, the one as a rebel, the other as an abettor of rebellion!

Overcharged as this picture of the Emperor Nicholas may seem, we have rather understated than exaggerated the facts in the present policy of Russia, and the events actually taking place in that empire. The principles, upon which the whole of the present government of Russia hinges, are three in number:—*autocracy*, or the total subjection of the inhabitants to the principle of despotism:—*orthodoxy*, or the total subjection of all religious creeds to the established church of Russia;—*nationality*, or the total subjection of numerous populations of different origin, races and languages, together with their respective civilization, customs and laws, to the nationality of the Muscovites. These three powerful watchwords are repeated from one end to the other of that vast empire, and they are the motives and objects to which every thing is made subordinate and subservient. In consonance with these, statesmen in the cabinet, priests in the church, and authors in their books proclaim, that of all forms of government, despotism is the wisest; that to despotism Russia owes her territorial aggrandizement, her salvation in misfortune, her pre-

sent power and greatness, and that to despotism also she will owe her future glory. Wo to him who should dare to express a doubt of the magic power of autocracy, or attempt to counteract it; by the mighty spell of that very power, he would soon find himself an exile in distant regions, or locked up in the dark dungeon of some fortress, to reflect there upon the folly of his disbelief. No means are left untried whereby to impress on the minds of the people the sanctity of the high office held by the Czar as the vicegerent of the Almighty on earth; to inculcate blind submission to him, and to ensure that from the Spitzberg to the Carpathian mountains, no form of praise shall be heard than the eternal chant of "*Hospodi pomiluy*," (God have mercy upon us,)—the most appropriate invocation that a subject under such a government can utter—and that no other language be spoken, no books be read, but only Russian. With these notions are entwined visions of a final fusion of all the different nations composing the empire into Russians; of the re-conquest of the Slavonian provinces which still belong to Austria and Prussia; and of domineering over the rest of the world through the mighty influence of that vast Slavonian league.

These ambitious schemes of Russia met, however, at their very outset with failure, owing to which their accomplishment has not only been retarded, but altogether defeated. Such fusion of heterogeneous nations into one mass, as she contemplated, can only be advantageously effected by mutual interest and attachment, and by such guarantees of reciprocal rights, as we much doubt its being in the power of Russia to give. But what she failed to effect by amicable measures, she has attempted to perform by revolting acts of persecution, oppression and cruelty. Witness her barbarous and perfidious conduct towards Poland, which sister country of Slavonian origin, instead of using, as a wise policy would have dictated, as a stepping-stone to the great and important union, she has by mismanagement converted from henceforth into a stumbling-block in her way. The fate of Poland will for ever be a warning to other Slavonian races, not to unite themselves with Russia. Although through the intrigues of her Greek priesthood and other secret agents spread far and wide, she may gain some influence among the Slavonian populations under the government of Turkey, the more enlightened and humanized portion of them under Austria and Prussia, calling Poland to remembrance, will shrink from the idea of contaminating themselves by entering into a bond with a member of the family so barbarous and perfidious, however alluring may be the end proposed by such a union. It is true that they desire a change in their present political condition, and mourn over their oppressed nationality; but having now for ages been accustomed to the regular system of administration and impartial justice of the respective foreign governments to which they belong, they will not lightly exchange a despotism tempered with humanity, for an autocracy of the wildest description—an offshoot of Asia, which can never thrive in the Slavonian soil, and which is entirely opposed to their ancient municipal customs, the mildness of their manners, and the social welfare of their communities.

The policy of Russia is the combined result of the emperor's personal character, and of that of the agents employed by him, both at home and abroad, and for whose deeds the emperor, from his peculiar autocratic responsibility, must in fact be held solely accountable. Imperial decrees, and the lamentable results of the measures adopted in the execution of them, sufficiently display the peculiar features both of his government and of his individual character; moreover, they prove, that were it not for the resistance that Poland has offered, and, though abandoned to her fate, still does offer, the designs of Russia would long since have been accomplished.

For the purpose of overcoming the obstacles arising to her ambitious plans from the nationality of Poland, a special privy council was established some years ago at St. Petersburg. It bears the unpretending name of the Committee for the Western (*i. e.* Polish) Governments. The members composing the committee are Tschernisheff, Bludow, Prince Galitzin and General Benkendorff; and it was formerly presided over by the notorious enemy of the Poles, Novosiltzoff, whose disgrace for speculation, and disastrous end, are well known. Not a single Pole is of the number. The deliberations of the committee, its resolutions, and the instructions issued by it to the governors of the Polish provinces are involved in profound secrecy. Such is the mystery in which the transactions of this inquisitorial council are wrapped, that the secretaries and clerks employed by it, on entering upon their functions, are bound by oath never to divulge any thing that passes at its meetings. But whatever pains the committee may be at to conceal its deliberations, they are sufficiently revealed by their results; and from the peculiar kinds of persecution inflicted by the governors, who are the executors of its secret instructions, it is manifest that the grand object in view is the suppression of every vestige of the nationality of Poland, the effacing her name from the map of Europe, and her history from its annals,—in short, the Russianizing of her whole population.* Whoever stands forward in defence of

* The provisions of the Congress of Vienna in 1814, with respect to Poland under the then existing difficulties, were not altogether injudicious, and ought not to be underrated. By protecting her nationality, her existence as a nation was secured. It is true that the Poles were not satisfied—nothing could, or ought to satisfy them short of the political independence of their country; still, had the conditions been faithfully observed, Europe would not have been deprived of the great benefit they were intended to effect, namely, that of constituting Poland, by her separate nationality and national interests, an intermediate power between the three co-partitioning governments,—a sort of moral bulwark to preserve the balance, and prevent any hostile collision which might disturb peace in the North of Europe. Lord Castlereagh having failed to restore Poland to its former independence under a distinct dynasty, as he had proposed to the Congress, it was hardly possible to imagine any better arrangement than that which was ultimately acceded to, *viz.* *First*, that all the provinces of ancient Poland, to whichever of the three governments, Austrian, Prussian, or Russian, they belonged, should have full enjoyment of their nationality; *secondly*, that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, the population of which amounted to four millions, and which at that period did not belong to any of the three powers, should be erected into a kingdom of Poland, with a constitution and government of its own, to form, as it were, a *centre*, with the national *radii* extending westwards to the Duchy of Posen and the district of Bromberg; southwards to Galicia; eastwards to Lithuania, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine. It is true that the central portion of Poland, the kingdom, in consequence of the imperious circumstances and confusion arising from Napoleon's

these objects,—so dear to every nation and to every individual not wholly debased,—or is only suspected of being disposed to do so, becomes a marked man, and is sure sooner or later to fall a victim. The country swarms with informers—the church, the tavern and the brothel are alike infested by them. At court the dignified body of decorated counsellors perform the office of spies; in the streets the beggar who asks for a morsel of bread speculates on the wages of treachery. Within the walls of a man's own house, his domestics or his nearest relations may perhaps be paid informers; and he can neither play, nor sing, nor read, still less write, without incurring the risk of being denounced as a traitor. To speak or to be silent is alike dangerous; for the most innocent words may be distorted into treason, and silence construed into brooding over some plot. If he be a Catholic, the priest in the confessional is bound by a recent imperial ukase to betray him, on pain of being considered an accomplice, in which case both are dragged before the inquisitorial courts, probably tortured, and finally sentenced to transportation or hard labor. The very prayer-book may become a witness against him, should it chance not to bear the *imprimatur* of the imperial censorship.

In tracing the sufferings of Poland since the late insurrection, it will be seen that not a year has passed, not a province escaped, unmarked by some calamity inflicted on its population in various, and often wholly unprecedented forms.

In 1832, Warsaw became the scene of kidnapping infants, who, under the false pretext of their being orphans, were carried off, and most of whom died on the way from fatigue, cold, or the want of proper food and care. The rest have never been heard of since they were placed under the paternal guardianship of the Emperor. These children are not only doomed to renounce their religion, and their native language, but even their very names are changed. An anecdote is told of an awkward attempt made by the Emperor to place his conduct respecting these children in an amiable light in the presence of a distinguished foreigner. After the termination of some manœuvres performed by the school of cadets near Peterhoff, in 1833, one of them was presented by the Emperor to his consort as the son of a gallant Polish general (Sowinski), who had fallen in the redoubts at Wola, fighting against him. Unfortunately,

unexpected return from Elba, was surrendered to the Emperor Alexander as its king; yet it was to be annexed to Russia only by its constitution; according to which the diet was to be convoked every two years, and opened by a speech from the king. His successors also were to be crowned at Warsaw. The kingdom was to have its own army, its own treasury, its own functionaries, who were to be all Poles, and no Russian was to be admitted to public office but by an act of naturalization. How mighty a centre was that kingdom, and how much more powerful might it in the course of time have proved, with its national laws, institutions and civilization gradually developing themselves, had it not been with wanton outrage swept away by Nicholas! It had a national army of 35,000 men, with a distinct uniform, and all the badges of nationality, and which by Art. X. of the Charter "*was never to be employed* (by the Emperors of Russia) *in a war out of Europe*;" but which, nevertheless, as if in derision of treaties, has been since 1832 drafted into the Russian regiments of the Caucasus, of Siberia, of Georgia, and with the levies of 10,000 recruits annually taken from the kingdom, must now be considered as thrown into the scale of Russia against the other powers of Europe.

however, for the Czar, the general left no child; it now turns out that one belonging to other parents was selected to perform in this piece of sentiment.

The year 1831-32 was rendered remarkable by an ukase for the transportation of 5000 families from Podolia to the steppes of the Caucasus. Much as is said of the improved character of the government of Russia, these improvements are more nominal than real, and it still remains essentially Asiatic. The custom practised formerly by the Turks and Tartars, of transplanting the populations of conquered countries from their own soil to some other district, has been often resorted to by the Muscovite rulers; but by none to such an extent as the present Czar. During the Turkish campaign of 1828, the fortress of Rachova having been taken, the women and children were carried as prisoners into Russia, in revenge for the brave defence that had been made.* Poland is now considered as a similar conquest; yet the execution of the same measure is the more atrocious from not being directed against a rude and distressed population, or needy peasants, having but little to lose, but against independent gentlemen and citizens, on the plea, as it is stated in the ukase, that they are suspected of "being ambitious in all their plans;" amongst these are also included *lawyers*, "their interest being to prolong suits and acquire fortunes at the expense of their clients." They were sentenced to be immediately transported; their wives and children, in case they had any, were to be sent after them. When settled on some uncultivated steppe they were to be incorporated with the Cossack colonies, and in future to form part of their troops. This inhuman decree, communicated in the most secret manner to the governor of Podolia, to be executed by him with equal secrecy, was subsequently to be extended to other Polish provinces, with all the horrors accompanying such acts of violence and heart-rending scenes of separation from home and kindred, such outrage to the family affections, for which so much credit has been given to the Emperor, and which in the present instance he so monstrously trampled under foot.†

* Lieut. Col. Chesney's Report on the Russian Campaign in 1828-29, drawn up for the Duke of Wellington.

† We insert the savage ukase, as well as the correspondence with the governor of Podolia, that our readers may judge for themselves of the barbarity of its tenor. These documents were never destined to come before the public, and their appearance may serve to show that the *Imperial Secret Chancery is not quite so inaccessible as the Czar supposes it to be.*

I. Order of the Minister of Finances to the Governor of Podolia, dated

9th (21st) Nov. 1831.

"His Majesty the Emperor has condescended to promulgate a supreme order to make the necessary regulations for transplanting, at first, five thousand families of Polish gentlemen, of the government of Podolia, to the steppes, under the control of the Treasury, and by preference on the line, or in the district of the Caucasus, that those thus transplanted may there be enrolled in the military service.

"To carry into execution the above transplantation, it is necessary to select—first, persons who took part in the late insurrection; those also who have been comprised in the third class of offenders, and who have subsequently obtained the favor and pardon of his Majesty; secondly, those persons who, from their mode of life, in the opinion of the local authorities, excite the distrust of the government.

"According to this, your Excellency will make use of all necessary means (with-

This is sufficient to prove that the Czar is not the amiable being he is represented. The cruel and ill-advised measure, it is well known, could not be carried into direct execution without the risk of kindling in the country a new war of despair. It was therefore relaxed, but not abandoned, and the principle of it is still acted upon. On the slightest intimation given by the secret police, on the most frivolous pretexts, in consequence perhaps of any one of its hired agents dreaming of some new plot, persons are at once carried off into the interior of Russia; and however self-evident their innocence may be, they must yet remain there until, as they are told, the "falsehood of their accusers" can be proved in the regular slow course before the tribunals. But this never takes

out publishing or making known the tenor of this order) to register the families who ought to be transplanted, in order that you may begin, without delay, the execution of this order, according to the rules which will be ultimately communicated to you."

II. *Literal Extract from the Answer of the Governor of Podolia to the Minister of Finances, 29th Nov. (11th Dec.) 1831.*

"I have had the honor of receiving Your Excellency's communication of the 9th of November, No. 1183, reproducing the order of His Majesty for transplanting five thousand families of Polish gentlemen, of the government of Podolia, to the uncultivated soil of Caucasus. In hastening to fulfil, in the strictest manner, this supreme wish, I consider it my duty to fix the attention of Your Excellency on the following points:—

"The Polish gentlemen in the government of Podolia may be divided into four classes: the first is the class of proprietors; the second are occupiers, farmers, laborers, artisans; the third are servants, and other persons employed by the proprietors; and the fourth are the counsellors (*avocats*), lawyers, and the idle inhabitants of the towns. As to the first class, it promises nothing good for the prosperity of the country; the second has taken no great part in the late insurrection; the third, which is very numerous, consists of persons who frequently go from one place to another, from one district to another, and from one government to another, and who, having nothing to lose, are not bound to any place, and who, in serving the masters that pay them, are given up to all the practices which are inimical to commerce and integrity—mercenary servants, they are ready to perform any orders of their employers; ambitious in all their plans, they serve as tools, and were principally accomplices to the leaders of the revolt during the insurrection: these are dangerous persons, who may yet be very mischievous in unforeseen circumstances. It would be very beneficial, in every point of view, to depopulate the country of this people. The counsellors and lawyers, whose interest is to prolong civil suits, and who acquire their fortunes by the injury of the citizens, possess so much the more influence over them; and it is desirable for the good even of this country, that their number should be considerably diminished by transplantation.

(Signed) "The Governor LUBRENOWSKI."

"Kamieniec, Nov. 29 (Dec. 11)."

III. *Extract from an Order of the Minister of the Interior to the Governor of Podolia, dated April 6 (18), 1832.*

"His Majesty, in confirming these regulations, has deigned to add his own handwriting:

"These regulations are to serve not only for the government of Podolia, but also for all the Western governments.

"Independently of this, His Majesty has ordained—

"1. That in no case will the government be responsible for the debts of the persons transplanted; nevertheless, those who are to be transplanted shall not be previously apprised of it; the creditors shall act according to the laws; but this shall not create an obstacle to transplantation.

"2. In the first place, the persons who are capable of working must be transplanted; their families shall be subsequently sent.

"The *ci-devant* gentlemen non-proprietors, who have neither means nor perma-

place. In most cases the accused, after pining for several years in vain expectation, is offered by way of pardon to enter military service, and compelled to sell his property in Poland. In the latter case the government usually comes to the aid of the unfortunate individual, by taking what landed property he may possess, and assigning him by way of compensation some portion of waste land on the Asiatic confines of the empire.

The years 1833 and 1838 were especially unfortunate, owing to the appearance of emissaries from France, who were represented by the secret police as having come to insurrectionize Poland, and to assassinate the Czar. Three of these were captured, tried by court-martial and executed: Zawisza at Warsaw, Wollowicz at Grodno, and Konarski at Wilna; the last in 1838. But with the punishment of these patriotic and ardent, though inconsiderate young men, misfortune did not end. Their course had been tracked, the places they had passed through noted, and an account taken of all the persons whom they visited or spoke with. As may be supposed, their parents and immediate connexions and friends fared the worst. The prisons throughout the country were crowded, inquisitorial courts multiplied, in many cases corporeal punishments, and all kinds of privations resorted to in order to extort confession. Many were doomed to banishment or death on mere suspicion, unsupported by the slightest proof. Muravieff, the governor of Grodno, stood foremost in the ranks of these executioners, for they cannot be called judges; and his conduct was so outrageous, that volumes might be filled with his cruelties; even Nicholas at length thought it advisable to recall him. He prided himself on his cruelty; and a brother of his own having been hanged on the accession of Nicholas for his part in the celebrated Russian conspiracy, he used tauntingly to admonish his victims not to mistake him for the Muravieff who was hanged as a traitor, as he was only there to hang others. In brutality, and even in person, he resembled the Emperor Paul and the Grand-duke Constantine, but he far surpassed the latter

nent occupation, who change their residences, or remain unemployed, shall be transplanted to the line of the Caucasus, among the Cossacks, and shall be inscribed amongst them; and as for the future they will form part of the Cossack troops, their colony must not be in any relation with the colonies of the *ci-devant* Polish gentlemen.

"St. Petersburg, April 6 (18), 1832.

"Received at Kamieniec, April 20 (May 1)."

(Signed) "BLUDOW."

IV. *Literal Extract from the last Order of the Minister of the Interior to the Governor of Podolia, dated the 14th (26th) August, 1832, No. 665; received at Kamieniec, 29th August (10th September).*

"If the Polish gentlemen have no wish to let themselves be transplanted, you are authorized to constrain them to do so by force."

V. *Literal Extract from the Letter of the Governor of Podolia to the Authorities of the Police.*

"For the first time a transplantation is to be made from the district of Kamieniec, 150 families; Proskuro, 50; Latyczew, 100; Lityn, 100; Winnica, 100; Braclaw, 106; Haysin, 100; Olhopol, 100; Balta, 150; Jampole, 75; Mohylew, 75; Uszyca, 100; selecting those gentlemen having families, proprietors, farmers, and townspeople; and commencing with those who have taken part in the revolt, and who by their manner of living, and by their conduct, are suspected and dangerous.

(Signed)

"LUBRENOWSKI."

in cruelty. He spared neither age nor sex, nor were the clergy safe in their sanctuaries. Women of condition were often dragged from amidst their families and *flogged in public*, and after being imprisoned for months, were sent to monasteries for years of penance. Hardly inferior to him was Prince Trubecki, late vice-governor of Wilna. From the time of Konarski's arrest in 1837, he has uninterruptedly pursued the most revolting course of cruelty. The death of that young man, whom he caused to be shot at Wilna, did not satisfy his rage, and the heroism with which he suffered the inhuman tortures inflicted upon him without betraying any of his associates, only exasperated the governor, who, incapable of comprehending such patriotic virtue, styled it a mere obstinate persisting in rebellion, which he is bound to conquer by all the means with which he has been so amply furnished by the secret committee we have already alluded to. All that is now known in other countries of torture is from the history of former ages, or the annals of the Inquisition. Long since the halls of justice have been cleared of racks and screws, and such instruments are banished to cabinets of antiquities, where they are preserved only as objects of curiosity. It is not so in Russia. A governor of any of its provinces is permitted to apply torture, and even to enrich his stock of instruments with the inventions of his own ingenuity. Konarski having refused to betray his associates was deprived of food, and when hunger was excited to a certain height, he was fed upon salt herrings, and kept in a heated room without being allowed one drop of water to quench his burning thirst. This not being sufficient to shake his constancy, burning sealing-wax was poured drop by drop on his arm-pits; his head was pressed by bands of iron; the nerves of his arms were pulled up and torn, and nails driven under his finger-nails. All this was done in the presence of Prince Trubecki, who acted as president of the court of inquiry. He directed and even assisted in these horrible proceedings, fiend-like, rejoicing to witness the sufferings of his victims; for besides Konarski, others were subjected, as his accomplices, to that dreadful trial, though some who were not able like him to bear it in silence, by confessing what was required of them, saved themselves from going through all its intolerable gradations. Before proceeding to the scenes of that horrible chamber, it was the Prince's custom to swallow two capacious tumblers of rum, that he might be in better spirits for tormenting his unfortunate prisoners. He, like Muravieff, had had a near relation of his own name condemned by the Emperor, though only to the mines of Siberia for life; and it is thus that men in Russia make atonement for the crime of liberalism perpetrated by their relations.

Sickening as is the task of recording such deeds, we must yet add a few more facts, in order to show the extent of misery that unenlightened despotism can entail upon a patriotic people. One of its victims, having been released after an incarceration of several years, arrived at his brother's residence during the absence of the latter. His long beard and emaciated countenance had so altered him that he was not easily recognizable, and on his approaching his favourite niece, the frightened child exclaimed, "Go away, Muscovite!" The Russian gend'arme, who had

accompanied him, reported this to the authorities, and the father, who held an office under the government, was dismissed for having neglected to educate his daughter properly, and for having instilled into her mind dislike of the Russians. The child herself was brought before the municipality, and her father only saved her from being flogged by declaring her to be subject to fits of insanity. He could not, however, rescue her from their cruelty; she was taken from him, her head shaved, and she was then shut up in a lunatic asylum. This event occurred some years ago, but more recent acts of a similar nature might be related. After the ill-fated plot of Konarski, a Polish nuncio of the name of Wiszniewski was arrested on suspicion of having been implicated in it, solely from the circumstance that his wife was the aunt of that young man. He was confined two years in a dungeon at Warsaw, and when at length released, he was so altered by suffering, that his friends could scarcely recognize him. His wife was then summoned to appear before the court of inquiry, but she was so ill at the time that the physicians declared that she could not be removed without endangering her life. The court, however, grew impatient, and an escort was sent for her, accompanied by a physician appointed by the authorities, with orders to bring her at any risk to the capital, a distance of 200 miles. Just as they were preparing to place her in the carriage—she expired.

After the execution of Konarski the chains he had worn were obtained, and made into rings, which were worn from patriotic feelings by the Lithuanian ladies. Notice of this having been given to the police, all who had done so were arrested. They were all of the most respectable families in the country. Declared guilty of high treason by Trubecki, they were conducted through the streets loaded with chains, and thrown into prison with common felons. We do not know the names of all these victims of brutal tyranny, but one of them is Josephine Sniadecki, of the family of Sulistrowski, which ranks amongst the most noble of Poland, whilst her husband's name is associated with all that is high and admirable in the annals of Polish literature and science. His father, Andreas, was a distinguished writer on chemistry and physiology; and the name of John Sniadecki, his uncle, who was many years rector of the university of Wilna, is known throughout Europe. Both brothers were esteemed by the Emperor Alexander and decorated with many orders. Happily for themselves, they were not living to witness the ruffian-like outrage committed on the wife of their descendant. Some English ladies were horror-struck on hearing this story related, and naturally inquired what did her husband on the occasion? What could he do? He might supplicate the governor, appeal to heaven, or call down imprecations on the persecutors of his wife, but he could neither rescue her from her executioners, nor obtain permission to console her in her prison. Could he not solicit pardon of Nicholas? it would not avail. To pronounce the name of Poland or of Poles, in the Emperor's presence, is alone sufficient to incense him, infinitely more so in a case like this, when he considered his personal safety as having been endangered. These are some of the traits of Russian autocracy, and this the happiness of the

subjects that live under its rule! We have lately received intelligence that similar persecutions have taken place at Kieff. We should hardly have expected, that, in a city which the Muscovites like to consider as their ancient capital, such a revolutionary spirit should prevail; but our information comes from an unquestionable source.

The melancholy fact did not transpire in Europe, and would probably have been forever buried in oblivion like many others of the like nature in that empire, but for the late accidental visit of the Emperor to that city. It is now a German newspaper* that first announces it as an act of signal mercy,—for some how or other German journals always contrive to know the tender, sentimental side of the Czarian rule,—to the following effect, that

“At Kieff the Emperor had pardoned some political offenders: all the *ladies* exiled to Siberia, or shut up in Greek convents as accomplices of Konarski, had been liberated, on condition that they should not fix their residence in any of the frontier governments of the empire. Three other individuals implicated in the same affair, who had been sentenced to work in the mines, were by another imperial act to be transported to Siberia.”

In this act of mercy, if Russian commutations of punishment deserve that appellation, we find only three individuals so favored out of two hundred, at least, who we know were then banished from Kieff, and the rest are ladies. The act, though good in itself, is hardly entitled to praise, from its niggardliness; and it will appear still more paltry, and we may say “unroyal,” considering that it was exercised towards women, who, God knows, are not fit subjects to come within the pale of political offenders, and doubtless never should be punished as the women of Kieff have been by the Czar, with such utter disregard of humanity, and brutal vindictiveness. Whether we have used language too harsh, let our readers decide after they have perused an extract from an earlier letter relating to those horrible proceedings, coming from that quarter.

“By order of the governor, Bibikoff, a number of Polish ladies, some of the most respectable and ancient families, were dragged in chains to the court of inquiry, and punished* in public: their high rank and station in society, their tender or infirm age, education or accomplishments did not screen them. After the sentence had been executed, many were carried off into the interior of Russia, whither or how far heaven only knows! to be confined in Russian monasteries. During their journey they were left altogether at the mercy of their escort of *gend’armes*, and when arrived at the monasteries were delivered to the fanatical fury of the Russian nuns, to whom they were represented as heretics brought thither for penance. In that company these helpless beings pass their days in sorrow and tears, separated from their families and friends in a foreign country, without even the consolations of their religion: their relations do not know where they pine away their miserable life, nor can they even ask the authorities about their places of abode, to afford them comfort in their solitude. Europe does not know of all we suffer. Short-sighted and mercenary writers deceive you abroad as to the real condition of things in Russia; but do not proceedings like these show how much reason we have to detest both the character and government of the Czar?”

* Vide Leipzig Gazette, September 19, 1840.

† Flogged!

The orthodoxy of Russia is worthy of its autocracy, and the propagation of it is now one of the Emperor's principal objects. It is a mere tool for stultifying the people, in order to render it the more easy to govern them; and from the number of its external observances and ceremonies, and its various superstitions, it may be considered as one of the worst of idolatries. A greater insult could scarcely be offered to the Protestant religion, than has been the assertion of some divines of this country, that its liturgy is much the same as that of the Church of England. The spirit of Christianity is entirely opposed to the persecution carried on by the Muscovite church against the other branches of the Christian faith, to whose humanizing influence the other nations of Europe are chiefly indebted for the little resemblance they now bear to the Russians.

Yet Russia has already her agents in every country on the Continent to praise her creed, and lie in behalf of her system of persecution. M. Durand, by his own confession a writer in the pay of Russia, speaks of the conversion of the Roman Greek church to Russian-Greecism in the following terms:—"Since the period that the western (Polish) provinces were reunited with the empire, a great number of individuals, and even whole districts, have renounced their union with Rome, and returned to their national church, i. e. Russian-Greecism. They have, in fact, returned by thousands, without any constraint on the part of the secular government, to that church; and have now solicited, *en masse*, the favor of being received into the bosom of the ancient ritual, which they regard as the badge of salvation, and the sacred legacy of their forefathers."*

There is not one word of truth in this statement, which was written by order of the Russian cabinet. There exist numerous petitions on this very subject addressed to the Emperor by the Polish provinces, which prove, that, so far from wishing to be united to the Russian church, they deeply lament its encroachments on their own. An extract from one signed by 120 inhabitants of Lubawicze, in the province of Mohilew, and dated July 10th, 1829, will show the state of feeling upon that point.

"Our fathers, born in the United Greek Church, ever faithful to the throne and their father-land, passed their lives peacefully in the profession of the religion in which they were educated. We likewise, brought up in that religion, have professed it unmolested up to the present day; and we did not anticipate, that, without an express order from Your Majesty, we should ever be disturbed in the profession of our faith. The priests of the established church of Russia, however, upon the plea that some individuals that belonged to their creed have passed over to ours,—which, however, is not the case,—compel us to renounce our ancient faith, not by corporeal infliction, as was the case in the reign of Catherine II., but by the still more effectual means of prohibiting our priests from affording us any spiritual assistance, from baptizing our children, and from blessing our marriages. Thus it is that endeavors are made to detach us from their pastoral charge. In this cruel persecution our only refuge is in the clemency of Your Imperial Majesty. Sire, be the protector of those who suffer for their faith."

Another was addressed to the Emperor by the nobility of the government of Witepsk, in which a shocking but true picture is drawn of the

* Frankfort Journal, April 22, 1839.

manner in which the schismatics set about their work of conversion, and of the deplorable condition of morals induced by their conduct.

"Petition to the Emperor, voted by the Nobles of the Province of Witepsk, in the Session of 1834.

"For some time past, but especially in the current year, (1834,) every means has been employed to draw the members of the United Greek Church over to the dominant faith. This manœuvre would make no impression whatever on the minds of the people in this province, if believers were permitted to guide themselves in this matter by the dictates of their conscience, in accordance with a strong and unbiassed conviction. But the means employed fill the mind with terror. For in many places a small number of parishioners is assembled without the participation and even unknown to the rest of the community; and they are then obliged, not by the method of free discussion, but by a violence that nothing can resist, to embrace the dominant religion; and after this pretended act of adhesion, which is invariably the act of the minority, has been thus obtained, the rest of the inhabitants of the village or parish, who had remained in their own houses during the transaction, are informed that they must profess the prevailing religion. Sometimes, without having any regard to the remonstrances made in the public assembly, all the parishioners, without being in any degree consulted, are included amongst the professors of that religion. In either case the former curate is dismissed, and the united church converted into a Greek church, without observing the regulations prescribed in this matter. The union being thus established by violence and in spite of the inhabitants, if the latter have recourse to the civil or ecclesiastical authorities, and protest that they choose to remain inviolably attached to the faith of their ancestors, and to defend their cause in a legal manner, this proceeding is considered as a desertion of the dominant religion, which they are supposed to have voluntarily accepted; they are reputed as apostates, and as such various penalties are inflicted upon them. In some parishes, where a portion of the population remains, in spite of every thing, faithful to the creed of their fathers, the parish church is still either converted into a Greek church, or closed and put under seal. In this manner, and without any previous notice, by the sole order of the magistrates, some, through terror of an atrocious persecution, of which they have witnessed frequent examples, and some, through the hope of obtaining some special favor or being delivered from public burthens or slavery, are drawn over to the dominant religion; and yet, whilst professing it, they remain in their hearts firmly attached to the religion of their ancestors, and which they have themselves long professed. They even acknowledge to those who force them to confess it, that if they do obey the orders given them, frequent the churches, and receive the sacraments of the religion they are forced to adopt, this does not prevent them from keeping internally, in the sanctuary of their hearts, which cannot be violated, their ancient faith. Finally, those who persevere in the faith are deprived of their churches, separated from their priests, and find the greatest difficulty in obtaining Christian instruction and spiritual aid.

"The result of all this is, that it begins to be generally thought by the people that religion may be changed according to circumstances, that it is only necessary to be persuaded of its truth, and to consent to it internally, and that it may be abandoned for the sake of private advantage. Hence religious maxims no longer make the impression upon their hearts that they ought to make; they cease to be the foundation of all duties and civil virtues. Citizens and subjects become the prey of continual doubts and anxieties, sometimes on account of the report generally spread that they must change their religion, sometimes because of the denunciations to which they are incessantly exposed, under the pretext that they prevent the propagation of the Russo-Greek faith."

"Written relation, given by the inhabitants of the village of Uszacz, district of Lepel, province of Witepsk.

"In the month of August, 1835, We, the inhabitants of the parish of Uszacz, sent a petition to the minister of public worship at St. Petersburg, imploring his

grace and mercy, because, being deprived of our church, we found ourselves forced to profess externally a religion which we were not willing to embrace; but we received no answer. We were only informed by Bishop Bulhak, that a commission would soon arrive among us with the priest destined for us. And in truth the commission did appear on the 2d of December, and, having convoked the people, invited them to embrace the Greek religion. But we all unanimously cried out that we would die in our faith; that we never had desired, nor ever would receive any other religion. Then the commission, setting words aside, proceeded to action: namely, they began to tear the hair from our heads, to strike our faces, even to the drawing of blood; to beat us about the head, and to imprison some and transport others to the town of Lepel. Finally, the commission, seeing that these means were equally unsuccessful, forbade all the priests of the United Greek Church to receive our confessions, or to administer to us any spiritual aid. But we have said: 'We will remain without priests; we will pray in our houses; we will die without priests, confessing to each other, but we will not embrace your faith. Rather let them prepare for us the fate of the B. Josephet—that is what we wish.' And the commission departed, ridiculing our tears and prayers. And we remain like wandering sheep, and we have no longer an asylum.

"We sign, &c."

Finding their representations disregarded, and that the Emperor turned a deaf ear to their lamentation, the unionists altogether ceased to attend at their former places of worship, now occupied by foreign priests, and crowded to the Latin (i. e. Catholic) churches for confession and the sacraments. This was considered as apostasy, and the Latin priests were severely punished, and some of them discharged from their parishes. In consequence of this, the Roman Catholic bishop, Pawlowski, has lately addressed a pastoral letter to his clergy, forbidding them, under a severe penalty, to receive the confession of any individual besides their own respective parishioners, or to admit any unknown person to the holy communion. The cause of so extraordinary an order is stated in the rescript to be the conversion of a woman named Elizabeth Woytkowska from the Greek to the Roman Catholic church; and henceforth the Russian clergy are directed to keep an accurate list of the persons belonging to their creed. The only exception to the rule is in the case of travellers taken dangerously ill on their journey, who are then permitted to confess even to an unknown priest, but not without a certificate of their actual danger being first signed by the physician of the place. To secure the observance of this rule, persons are placed at the doors of the Latin churches, armed with sticks, for the purpose of admitting only parishioners, and driving off professors of the Greek united church, who often endeavor to get in by force. This gives rise to frequent disgraceful quarrels and scuffles in the place where they should least occur, and blood is often shed, and lives have been lost on the threshold of the Temple of God! Yet Russia has been described as more tolerant than any other nation.

One year has elapsed since we exposed the treachery of three bishops of the Greek united church, who, by going over to the Russian, have plunged about four millions of the Christian flock committed to their spiritual guardianship, into unspeakable misery. One of these apostates, Luzynski, the Bishop of Poltzsk, has since met with his punishment, sent, as the people believe, expressly by heaven, having become insane, either

from remorse for his offence, or more probably from the habitual drunkenness in which he indulged. The vanity of Siemasko, the Bishop of Lithuania, has been mortified by a somewhat ludicrous accident, his beard having to his great distress refused to grow; he is thus prevented from appearing *pontificaliter* at the Russian church, a long and thick beard being in that religion a *sine qua non* for officiating at the "royal gate." Two Romish prelates, Gentillo and Zylinski, have been also accused of courting the favor of government to the prejudice of their own church. The metropolitan Pawlowski is reproached with having, to please the Czar, not scrupled to attend in person divine worship at the Greek chapel in the imperial palace, contrary to the forms prescribed to Catholic priests. This unprincipled servility of the higher clergy has not only lowered Catholicism in Russia, but may, to a great extent, prove injurious to all other denominations of Christians comprised by Russia under the general appellation of "foreign persuasions." These have hitherto been under the jurisdiction of the minister of the interior; but we are informed that it is in contemplation to unite them with the Greek synod—a preposterous union, which would not fail, as in the case of the Greek united church, to involve them in new embarrassments, if, indeed, from the zeal of proselytism in Russia, it did not end in their extinction. The high-procurator of the synod, Col. Protassoff, is using every effort to effect this annexation.

The chapter of Warsaw is unshaken in its attachment to Rome, and so is the Russian population of the kingdom, who, in concert with the Bishop of Chelm, firmly adhere to Romanism. During his recent visit at Warsaw, the Emperor did not scruple himself to tamper with the Polish clergy, with the view of uniting the Polish Catholic church with the church of Russia, under one common synod at Petersburg; but he met with a decided resistance. The clergy made it understood, that the Pope being the head of their church, he alone could decide, and therefore he alone should be referred to in all matters of their faith. At the same time they started an ironical suggestion, whether, for bringing about so desirable a union between the two churches, the residence of a papal nuncio at Petersburg, who should preside in the synod, might not probably be the most efficacious means. How far this proposal agreed with the Czar's other arrangements, whether he was stung with its irony, or treated it with contempt, we cannot tell; but it is certain that, before His Majesty bade farewell to the Polish capital, in order to convince them of his predilection for seeing the ecclesiastical synods presided over, as in his own dominions, rather by the bearers of the sword than of the crosier, he appointed a Russian general, Pisareff, to act as director of the board of education and religion in Poland.

The most abject and worthless individuals among the Catholic clergy are purposely selected to occupy the highest offices in the church, in order that, by depriving the people of instruction and protection, their conversion to the Greek church may be facilitated. The nobility under whose eyes these outrages are perpetrated, look on, unable to afford protection to their peasantry; and any effort to do so generally entails on themselves transportation into the interior of Russia. The duke of Leuch-

tenberg is a Roman Catholic, and, it is said, even a zealous one; yet he never intercedes with the Emperor in behalf of his co-religionists. In fact, the question as to what religion his own children are to be brought up in is not yet settled. According to the actual law they ought to be of the schismatic church. Many notes on the subject have been exchanged with the Vatican; and the duke himself made a journey to Rome, accompanied by a Russian diplomatist, to endeavor to arrange the matter, but, as is believed, without being able to come to any satisfactory conclusion, as both his mother and the Pope are strongly opposed to his offspring being educated in the Greek religion. He was even required to retract his agreement to some clause in the marriage contract, which he had signed on the day of his betrothal. A despatch from Rome on this subject threw the Czar into a rage for three days, during which time he was unapproachable. "I do all I can for that old man," said he, speaking of the Pope to the Catholic metropolitan, "but I meet with nothing but refusals from him. He wants to send his legate here to watch me,—but I will have no spies here."

The same intolerant system is pursued in the Protestant provinces along the Baltic, Courland, Livonia, Finland and Lapland; everywhere endeavors are made to rear up the Russian church on the ruins of all others. The same law respecting mixed marriages prevails there as in Poland; as in Poland, too, the youths at the universities and schools are obliged to learn the Russian language; and no one who is unacquainted with it is admitted into any public office, even though its functions may not be of a nature to make such knowledge requisite. Like the Polish Catholics, the Protestants of those provinces are deprived of the benefit of their religion when on military and civil service in the interior of Russia, where churches are not to be met with for hundreds of miles. Their ancient laws and privileges, whether derived from Swedish or from Polish monarchs, are violated with even more impunity than those of the Poles, and without their having the poor consolation of the fact being known to other nations; theirs not having been, like some forms of the Polish government, sanctioned by European treaties. The Livonians have lately appealed, but in vain, to the charter of their liberties granted by Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland in 1550, by which public offices were to be conferred only on the natives, whether nobles or citizens, who were of German origin.* As in Poland, the higher offices are exclusively conferred on Russians. The machinery of government is here, too, essentially military, and depends on bribery and the watchfulness of the secret police. If at this moment the Poles are more severely oppressed than the inhabitants of these provinces, it is only because the former are more numerous and more dreaded, and because they offer greater resistance to their tyrant.

[To be concluded.]

* Counsellor Winter, of Riga, was exiled to Wiatka, for having translated (or rather been suspected of translating, for the fact was not proved,) into German an order of Uwaroff, the minister for public instruction, tending to destroy the German language in Courland and Livonia, and published it in the Augsburg Gazette. The sentence was considered as showing great leniency on the part of the Emperor, and was excused by the German press on the ground that Russia has a right to promote the use of the Russian language, it being that of the government.

ARTICLE II.

EDUCATION OF THE INTELLECT, THE TASTE AND THE IMAGINATION, IN
ENGLISH PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

1. *Prolusiones Præmiis anniversariis dignatæ, et in Auditorio recitatæ, Scholæ Harroviensis, Kalendis Quintilibus.* 1840. London.
2. *Prolusiones Literariæ, Præmiis quotannis propositis dignatæ, et in D. Pauli Scholâ recitatæ, comitiis maximis, A. S. H.* 1840. London.
4. *Charterhouse Prize Exercises, from 1814 to 1832.* London. 1833.
4. *Pœmata Præmiis Cancellariorum Academiæ donata, et in Theatro Sheldoniano recitata.* Oxford. Vol. I., II., III. 1840. Vol. IV. 1831.
5. *The Greek and Latin Prize Poems of the University of Cambridge.* Cambridge, 1837.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE above titles of books are prefixed to an article, in the last No. of the *British Critic*, on the "Education of the Intellect in English Public Schools." We have inserted in this title "the Taste and the Imagination," to premonish the reader that the system of education, which the writer defends, is quite as much concerned with these faculties as with the understanding.

In our review of the above named *Quarterly*, in the *Eclectic* for March, (page 385), we expressed our admiration of the substance of this article, and promised its insertion in the present No. of our work. In fulfilling that promise, we cannot think it essential to occupy our pages with the whole of that part of the article which is concerned in attributing the origin and "framing of the system" of instruction pursued in the Universities of England to the "Catholic church of ancient times." To do homage to the Catholic church would seem to be, with a portion of the Oxford school, an all-pervading principle. Their reverence for the ages of "church supremacy" is mingled with all their discussions of every subject. A portion of this we shall omit in the present instance, —indicating the omission by the usual marks,—and shall retain only so much as seems necessary to do justice to the views of the writer. And this we do the more readily on account of the purity and beauty of the style, and even the justness and excellence of the sentiment of many of the author's remarks, when separated from their designed exclusive application to the church claiming an apostolical succession. It is not to the forms and mysteries which are so much admired at Oxford, that we are to attribute the excellencies of the English system of education, but rather to the influence of Christianity, which, in spite of the usages and superstitions by which she was cramped and crippled, in the ages preceding the Reformation, was enabled to rescue from the wreck of the past, and bequeath to mankind, some principles of

education of inestimable worth. Nor is it to be admitted that the system thus derived has been "defaced" in modern times, in the manner supposed by this writer. In many respects, no doubt, it has been much improved. This indeed is unconsciously admitted by the writer himself, in his beautiful defence of the use of our vernacular tongue in the interpretation of the Latin and Greek languages. Such was not the ancient usage of the Catholic church, nor is it, if we are rightly informed, the usage of her schools at the present day. This then is a Protestant improvement, and by no means a "destructive reform."

But, aside from the plausible and insinuating remarks which have called forth these strictures, and which are only incidental to the main subject of the discussion, we commend the following article to the diligent perusal of our readers. It is an able, lucid and scholar-like defence of a system of classical instruction, the advantages of which, it is to be feared, are not duly appreciated even at many of our seats of learning; and if popular objections in England have called for such a discussion, it surely cannot be considered less timely and important in this country. SR. ED.

From the British Critic.

The method of intellectual training, which to this day is considered essential to a good education in England, is a traditionary system, administered for the most part by the church, and derived, undeniably, from very ancient and Catholic times. It would be a singular circumstance if such a system commended itself to the superior intelligence of the nineteenth century; and the fact is, that it does not. We are continually asked, What is the use of teaching so much Latin and Greek? Whether a man might not get on very well in the world without them? Whether the knowledge of modern languages, modern history, and physical sciences, is not of more service at the present day than the most perfect acquaintance with Homer, Aristotle, and Plato? Whether it is not an absurdity to prepare boys for the professions of clergymen, lawyers, physicians, merchants, soldiers and sailors, by making them write great quantities of verses, and that in a dead language? These and similar questions have been frequently hazarded of late years, and often, it must be confessed, without meeting with satisfactory answers. They are now beginning to pass as a sort of current coin in some influential quarters of society; and every sciolist who knows the difference between a piston and a valve thinks himself entitled to sneer at acquirements which were precious in the eyes of Bacon, Hooker and Bull. Some even who are, or ought to be, more than sciolists, adopt the same disparaging tone; and it is not impossible to trace the effect of such opinions in the neighborhood, if not within the walls, of the very sanctuaries of learning themselves.

That the education of the boy ought to be useful to the man, and prepare and qualify him for his duties in the world, is a mere commonplace truism. But when it is proposed to apply this *cui bono* test, we

must be sure, first, that we agree with the party from whom the proposal comes as to the definition of utility; and secondly, that we do not mistake the real character and effect of the system which it is intended to criticise. It is impossible not to see that the tone of objection which we have in view assumes, that the benefit which the pupil is to acquire from instruction ought to be something immediately relative to his accidental position, and conducive to his outward success in life; not a character or habit of mind, a substantive development of intrinsic capacities and powers, but a current exchangeable commodity, capable of being brought to market, and converted in due time into rank, reputation, emolument, and whatever else is valued among worldly men. "*Rem poteris servare tuam*" is the commendation with which critics of this stamp would greet their *beau-ideal* of a well-taught youth.

Consistently with such conceptions of the useful and the good, the whole effect of a given system of intellectual training is estimated at the sum of its producible results; in other words, by the total amount of *skill* to do things, and *knowledge* of facts and opinions, with which it sends a man furnished into the world. And the marketable value of this skill and knowledge is the criterion by which the merit of the system is assayed. Applying such a process of calculation to the case of the boy who leaves Eton or Winchester with the reputation of having profited by his studies, it may appear that the highest and most characteristic results of the instruction he has received are a limited amount of theological knowledge, an exact acquaintance with the Greek and Latin languages, and the power of writing with elegance Greek, Latin, and possibly English verses. For the clerical student, it will be said, these accomplishments (the verses excepted) are useful and even necessary; he cannot use a theological library, or qualify himself for orders, without them. To the profession of a lawyer, they are less appropriate; even admitting that they do not tend to distract his mind, he has small opportunity for their display; and a solid groundwork of mathematics, and the rule of three, with an early introduction into a solicitor's office, would probably be found more serviceable. The future physician must learn enough of them to understand the technical language of pharmacy, and to write prescriptions, but his days and nights will be most profitably devoted to botany, chemistry, anatomy, and the like. The merchant, the diplomatist, or the politician will frequently require the aid of arithmetic, statistics, political economy, modern history, and modern languages, to carry him through his business; but rarely or never of Greek or Latin. The soldier, the sailor, and the independent gentleman put their lexicons and graduses upon the shelf when the days of tutelage are expired, and never open them again, or discover by their conversation in society that they were once familiar with their contents. So slight is the general estimation, so rare the practical use of that precious knowledge, to the acquisition of which the best years of youth, and the highest faculties of the mind, in its most pliant and elastic season, are commonly devoted.

There is so much truth in all this, that at first sight it makes an impression upon candid minds. Granting the premiss, that the education

of our public schools, so far as the intellect is concerned, has no higher design than is supposed by the theory here presumed, it must be confessed that its suitableness for the accomplishment of that design is far from self-evident. To say the least, it appears to be a very circuitous road to such an end; and if, when considered in that light, it stands the test of experience (a position which cannot be satisfactorily established without the counter-experience of a different system), its success will hardly be accounted for, without recourse to a process of investigation, which may perhaps open the way to a different view of its legitimate purposes and real effects.

* * * * *

[The paragraphs which are here omitted are chiefly occupied in commending the religious care and wisdom of the Catholic church, exercised in framing the English system of education. Mingled with these remarks are the writer's views of what ought to be embraced in a perfect system of instruction for the young. It should not regard those for whom it is provided as future lawyers, or merchants or members of parliament, but as future *men*, heirs of immortality, the redeemed servants and sons of God. The proper uses of the intellect are, first, to apprehend the nature and ends of our being, our relations to the visible and invisible world, and to the Author of both; and, secondly, so to improve our opportunities of intercourse with other men as to serve and honor the same heavenly Master. Assuredly it should be the design of a Christian education to fit the intellect for these, its highest and only real uses. It will not disregard the fact that different men are designed to fill different stations in life; but this fact will be attended to rather for the purpose of estimating the extent to which the intellect will be concerned in executing the work of the man, and the proportional development which it may therefore require, than for the purpose of minutely distinguishing its ultimate functions. These must be left to Providence to determine, since their variety is infinite, and no calculation can exactly forestall the lot of any individual. The object of education, then, should be to make the man fit for any duty to which he may be called; to train up, in their just proportions, the faculties by which truth is discerned and knowledge of every kind apprehended, retained and applied; and withal, to communicate such positive knowledge as may be of universal necessity and application. Whatever may be accomplished more than this, will be a collateral rather than direct, an accidental rather than characteristic result of the system. SR. ED.]

The place, in such a system, of theological teaching, and of that discipline which operates upon the understanding through the moral character, is so obvious, that it need not be pointed out. It will be our endeavor to show that the study of the Greek and Latin languages, and the practice of verse composition are instruments, in their degree, not less aptly chosen for the same purposes: and to investigate a little in detail the office they perform in the education of the mind.

Reason, by which we recognise and interpret the impressions of the imagination, and of the senses, moral and physical—by which we com-

pare the relations of things, tracing conclusions from premises, applying the test of admitted principles for the discovery of error, combining simple into complex, and analyzing complex into simple ideas—and speech, the medium of communication between man and man, are connected with each other as closely as body and soul, form and substance. The Greek language treats them almost as identical; using a single word to designate both; and Christians cannot but remember that the word, which, in ordinary writers carries that double sense, has been consecrated in Holy Scripture to the highest purpose for which language can be employed. Speech is the analysis (and the only analysis) of all the operations of reason; it is the definite shape which they must assume before they go forth and do their office in the world; the depository of all past experience and recorded truth; the only way of teaching or of being taught. To the right use of speech great moral effects and high responsibilities are inseparably annexed. For, as words were not formed at random, but grew out of the intrinsic congruities of things, and were the apt representation of their own intellectual counterparts, and recognized as such in the minds of men, so they cannot be used at random in merely conventional senses, or wholly dis severed by caprice or ignorance from their legitimate meaning. Their proper effect is independent of the intention of the speaker; and he who will not, or cannot say what he means, will be understood to mean what he says. This consideration alone is enough to show the important consequences which may be, and constantly are, involved in their misapplication.

A knowledge therefore of the right use of speech, of the laws of language, and the principles of grammar, is the necessary introduction to all other parts of knowledge. He who possesses it in perfection has acquired the universal instrument, knows the value of the several processes of thought and expression, can understand exactly what others mean, and can make himself exactly understood. He who possesses it not, wanders without chart or compass over a sea of conventional phraseology, among the multiform exuviae of other minds; picking up here and there instruments imperfectly adapted to his purposes, often clothing his conceptions in grotesque disguises, too small, too large, of the wrong color or material, and often finding nothing wherewith to clothe them. To such a man, and to his hearers, vernacular words convey no definite intelligence, except within that narrow circle of which his daily wants and employments have taught him the vocabulary. The most appropriate expressions, when used with precise significance in either books or conversation, are vague and desultory to him. His ideas lie in confusion, cloudy, inchoate, undistinguished from each other, for want of the right application of that formal counterpart in which the law of their development and distinction lies.

We assume then, as an axiom which all thinking men will admit, that the study of language must be at the foundation of intellectual teaching. But in language there are two things to be considered; first, the principles, which are universal and represent the invariable processes of reason; and, secondly, the diversities, which are local and accidental. The former are

the most important and essential to be known, and, as they will be exemplified in all, must of necessity be acquired by the accurate study of any one language. The latter are the most numerous, but cannot be clearly distinguished from the former except by the comparison of more languages than one.

These considerations are sufficient to prove that the student must be made acquainted, at the outset of his education, with two languages at least. And a very little reflection shows that it will not be sufficient to endeavor after accuracy in one alone, and to rest contented with a superficial study or merely empirical knowledge of another. Without a minute investigation of the structure of both, it will not be possible to trace with any degree of clearness the boundary line between their common principles and their accidental forms; still less to recognize the identity of laws under variations of form, and to obtain the just analogical clue to the general function of law with form, the universal with the particular. Besides this, different languages will always contain in different degrees (according to circumstances influencing the development of the intellectual character among the nations by which each is spoken) variously modified forms of expression resulting from the higher intellectual processes. A knowledge of the important uses of these constituents of language, and at the same time of the extent to which they may be dispensed with, and their places supplied by others of a not identical import—(a knowledge which can only be obtained from the accurate comparison of one language with another)—is essential to a just appreciation of the reciprocal inter-dependence of thought and speech. A close analysis, therefore, of two languages is indispensable; and if these can both be brought to the test, and examined through the medium of a third, we shall not only have a larger field for the illustration of the varieties of structure and their limits, but shall be realizing our knowledge of the third language itself, while we seem to use it only as an instrument for acquiring the other two.

Now this is precisely what is done in the system of our public schools. Two languages, the Greek and Latin, are with infinite pains mastered and compared with each other. The classification, not of their general laws alone, but of their minutest idioms and peculiarities, is carefully made and diligently committed to the memory. Every fact is brought to the test of principles. And by employing a third language, our mother tongue, as the medium of interpretation, or common measure of the two, we unconsciously carry on a precisely parallel investigation into that also; since the operation of assigning English equivalents to Greek and Latin phrases compels us to exchange the vague and general conceptions arising from an empirical knowledge for a definite notion of the real significance of the terms we employ, and their relative functions in the language of which they form a part. Nor is the effect less usefully, or in any practical sense less completely produced, because the method followed is unscientific, and the rules representing principles are obtained through an inductive rather than an analytical process. For the young, who are incapable of theorizing, an experimental method is absolutely necessary; and even to those

who are able to conduct philosophical researches, this, in such a matter as language, must precede every other mode of inquiry. As long as it is the principal object of the system to instruct the pupil in the *use* of speech, it will be of little importance whether his mind embraces the connected theory, provided it is familiar with the laws which immediately regulate practice.

But why, it will be asked, are two dead languages, rather than French, German, or others spoken at the present day, selected for acquisition by this exact and laborious process; and why is our native tongue made to play such a part in the system as to be the subject of the unconscious and reactive, rather than of the direct and conscious investigation? This we shall answer, by considering, first, the comparative fitness of the ancient and modern languages to exemplify the general principles and structure of language as the expression of reason, and, thereby, the processes of reason itself; and secondly, their comparative value as independent and substantive acquirements.

It is manifest that for teaching language generally, whether as a science or as an art, those particular languages are the best adapted which are most precise and copious in their idioms, which constitute the best *praxis* of logic, which pursue the operations of reason furthest into their details, which pass over the fewest steps in the intellectual processes, which fix and consolidate in the greatest variety of typical forms the finer distinctions and modifications of thought. In these, and in these alone, is the whole power of language as an instrument displayed, and words fully answer the purpose of definition, for which they exist. In these false grammar is scarcely possible, without being so glaring as to detect itself; and false reasoning is compelled to have recourse to disguises and circuitous methods, and cannot so easily be insinuated under straight-forward forms of speech. In other words, such a structure exhibits language in its greatest perfection, and it needs no argument to prove that the most perfect language is the fittest school in which to acquire the general principles of the subject.

Now this is, in an eminent degree, the structure of the Greek and Latin languages as compared with those of modern Europe; and more especially of the former. It is the just counterpart of the versatile, ingenious and highly philosophical mind of the nation by which it was spoken. Between it and the Latin, kindred as they are in origin, and in the outlines of their structure almost identical, precisely that difference exists which might be expected from the lower development of intellectualism in the Roman mind. Both are patterns of order, precision and correctness; and what the Latin language wants in metaphysical accuracy, it makes up in symmetry of proportions; where it fails in compass it commands admiration by its completeness within itself. Nothing can be more instructive, or leave a stronger impression of the deep philosophy which is contained in forms of speech, than a comparison of these two languages.

From the lower and less perfect of these, the Latin, the dialects spoken at the present day in Italy, Spain, Portugal, France, England and even Germany, have borrowed a very large portion of their vocabularies, and

the highest and best distinguished of their typical forms. They consist, in fact, of the ruins or *debris* of the Latin language, engrafted in various proportions upon a barbarous stock, and cut down from their height of metaphysical subtlety into a mass of crude elementary terms incapable of expressing relation except by their position in a sentence. Like statues mutilated of head and members, and built into the wall of some Turkish or Gothic fortress, so are the words of Greek or Latin origin which we find in the languages of modern Europe; curtailed of the inflections of case, gender, voice, tense and mood, and in a great measure of number also; no longer ready to be dovetailed and exactly fitted into each other, but held together by a rough congeries of auxiliaries equally rudimentary with themselves. The invaders of the Roman empire, unaccustomed to the higher exercises of the understanding, felt themselves lost in the labyrinth of genitive, dative and accusative cases, &c. to which their own habits of thought gave them no clue, and rebelled against the complicated system of grammatical proprieties, with the same impatience and probably with the same disdain which Sir Walter Scott has attributed to their descendants when brought into contact with the fine-spun court etiquette of Constantinople. The type which their conquest impressed upon the language of the conquered countries, and which already existed in the parts of Europe from which they came, continues to this day. Whatever of elevation or dignity the various European dialects now possess, is to be found in the richness of their vocabularies, which the progress of civilization and learning has constantly tended to enlarge, and in the beauty which their idioms have acquired from a highly ideal and imaginative tone of sentiment (into the causes of which it is not necessary here to inquire), rather than in any distinctness, variety, power, or metaphysical refinement of structure. As compared with the Greek and Latin, modern languages are vague, obscure, inaccurate and indefinite, while on the other hand, even in the points where the latter are strongest,—copiousness, sweetness, strength, and the capacity of giving adequate expression to the nobler and less definite abstractions of the mind,—the ancient languages, the Greek especially, have little to fear from a comparison.

It is obvious, therefore, that the classical languages are best adapted to exemplify the general laws and structure of speech as the instrument and expression of reason. They teach and illustrate more numerous, more advanced, and more philosophical processes of thought. And if, in the universal processes, from the circumstance of combining in one typical form more than one elementary idea, they are often themselves capable of analysis, that analysis is exactly supplied by the use of English to interpret them, which, by its minute system of auxiliaries, exhibits the mere rudiments of speech in almost as simple a structure as can be imagined. In addition to which, the propriety of assigning to English the place which it occupies in our system will appear from the following considerations. The circumstance of this being the vernacular tongue in which we actually think, and of which we have, *a priori*, a practical knowledge and command, at once makes it the natural medium for acquiring all other kinds of knowledge, and disqualifies it from becoming,

till a late period, the object of the same kind of study which we apply to other subjects. To analyze, investigate, and dissect in a systematic way, we must take an objective view of the thing investigated; and this is impossible in the case of our mother tongue, so long as the faculty of abstraction is immature. To know the value of its elements, we must find them in other terms; and to do this, presupposes equal familiarity with some other language. Neither can we ever assume in this study the docile position of pupils who have the whole matter to learn: a position which all teachers require as a preliminary to instruction in the principles of any science, or the practice of any art. It would appear, therefore, not only that we cannot learn language generally by the direct study of English, but that we cannot even systematize our knowledge of English, except by using it as our interpreter in the study of some other tongue.

If it were necessary to give further proofs of the superior fitness of the Greek and Latin to be made the primary media of instruction in language, we might advert to the fact that in these languages we have not a miscellaneous literature, full of loose and inaccurate writing, but one select and comparatively small, which enables us to place in the hands of our scholars only the best works of the very best authors, without much risk of their extending their studies to inferior writers. In these admirable works, the capabilities of language are exhibited in the most advantageous manner; and nothing is rarer than a departure from sound grammatical principles. The very contrary is the case with respect to the modern languages of Europe; in which the great multitude of books (the worst of them often the most attractive to undisciplined minds) makes it impossible for a teacher to keep the reading of his pupil under any sufficient direction or restraint; and in these inferior publications those faults of style, which the vagueness of modern idioms makes it difficult even for good writers to avoid, abound in their most exaggerated forms.

We have dwelt the more upon the peculiar fitness of the Greek and Latin languages to be the channels for conveying the elements of that knowledge, on which the right use of speech and sound practical habits of reasoning in so great a degree depend, because in the common panegyrics upon our system of education, this point is not quite so prominently brought forward, or so carefully explained, as its importance deserves. We have no such reason for entering at length upon a discussion of the superior value of the ancient over the modern languages as substantive and independent acquirements. It is enough to remind those of our readers (if any such there be) who may require satisfaction upon this point, that Greek is the language of the New Testament and of the Eastern church, as Latin is of the Western; and that he who does not possess these two languages is cut off from all communication, except at second hand, with the civilized world before the sixteenth century of the Christian era, and deprived of access to faultless models of excellence in every kind of composition, and mighty masters in every branch of learning. These considerations supersede the necessity of any close comparative estimate, by proving that the acquisition of this knowledge is at all events indispensable to a good education; and, most assuredly, if an acquirement of so

much difficulty and nicety is to be made at all, it must be made in early youth. The intercourse of the world furnishes sufficient motives and opportunities for the acquisition of such living languages as it is found useful or convenient to be acquainted with; while to the attainment of Greek and Latin, if deferred till the season of active life, it affords no such facilities, but on the contrary, interposes obstacles almost if not altogether insuperable.

This is, in a short compass, our defence of the important place occupied by the study of Greek and Latin, in the system of intellectual education which we possess. It remains to show that another characteristic feature of the same system, which seems to be more especially incomprehensible to the wisdom of the present century, is equally capable of vindication; that the elegant publications, of which we have prefixed the titles to our article, are not mere curiosities of literature, monuments of laborious trifling, or evidences of a vain and supererogatory nicety of scholarship, but solid testimonies to the efficacy and value of a great and real, though subtle instrument in the education of the mind. And this we shall attempt with the more satisfaction, because shallow and ungrateful things have been written about the utility of verse composition, by some who have themselves profited largely by it; and reports are current of an almost general tendency to the depreciation of this branch of study in our seats of learning. That such a tendency, however, if it exists at all, is far from universal, we have the best reason to know; and no one can read the interesting "Prolusiones," which have issued from Harrow and St. Paul's during the present year, without being satisfied that two at least of our public schools may be relied upon as bulwarks against degeneracy in this respect.

"What shall be our method of education?" asks Plato, in the outset of his Republic.—"It will be hard to discover a better than that which the experience of so many ages has already discovered; and this may be summed up as consisting in gymnastic for the body, and *music* for the soul."* Music was a word of more extensive signification at Athens than with us. It comprehended the ideal creations, the sentiments, the representations and the diction of the poet, as well as the harmonies of time and tune. It was regarded as the key or master science of that symmetry, congruity and order, of which "painting, and every creative or mechanical art, and even the nature of living bodies and of all other organized beings, is full;"† and which has its highest development in the perfect moral character.

"For this reason," adds Plato, "is a musical education (rightly conducted) most essential, because it makes Rhythm and Harmony to settle most deeply into the inner soul, and take the strongest hold of it, carrying with them comeliness, and making the man comely-minded. Also because one so nurtured will have the quickest perception of all faults and imperfections in art or nature, and regarding them with a just aversion will praise and admire the beautiful; this he will receive with joy

* Plat. Repub. lib. 2.

† Ibid. lib. 3.

into his soul, will feed on it, and assimilate his own nature to its beauty—will learn to censure and hate deformity even in early youth, while yet incapable of understanding the reason why, and when the reason comes will embrace it gladly, and recognize it as a familiar thing.”*

Such a passage as this, even when due allowance is made for the more comprehensive meaning of the word music in the mouth of an Athenian, is so very foreign to the modes of thought prevalent at the present day, that it is apt to startle even considerate men. And yet the philosopher is not here speaking mystically, but altogether in a practical way. He refers to the experience of many generations—*τοῦ πολλοῦ χρόνου*—as having discovered a method of intellectual training, based upon principles in which he emphatically records his entire acquiescence. He recognizes the sufficiency of a system, of which, upon his own statement, the whole function consisted in the development, the regulation and the education of the taste. Surely this ought to give us higher thoughts of the faculty of taste than it is customary with many to entertain, especially when we consider the magnificent intellectual fruits produced in Greece by this method of nurture. For what is taste? Is it not that faculty which occupies the intermediate space in the mind between pure intellect and the moral sense? Belonging to the former, yet separated from the latter by so nice a shade of difference that some of its habitual developments have been classified among moral virtues by Aristotle himself, it is the connecting link which produces a mutual intelligence between the two. As conscience recognizes the divinely-imposed obligation, as intellect perceives the expediency of virtue, so taste informs us of its *beauty*; and revolts against vice as a deviation from the laws of harmony, proportion and the fitness of things. And since this faculty is nearer to the seat of conscience than pure intellect, it is so much the more trustworthy as a guide upon moral subjects; and is recognized as such by that innermost sense, which tells us that the love of the *καλόν* is a motive as much superior to the principle of utility, as it is inferior to that of duty. The Greeks, whose sense of duty was not informed by an uncorrupted revelation, and who felt (as Plato did) the inadequacy of the lower motive, were obliged in so many things to fall back upon their moral taste, that it cannot be wonderful if they exaggerated its intrinsic efficacy. They had recourse to it, to

“intertwine for them

The passions that build up our human soul,
Not with the mean and vulgar works of man,
But with high objects, with enduring things,
With life and nature; purifying thus
The elements of feeling and of thought,
And sanctifying by such discipline
Both pain and fear, until we recognize
A grandeur in the beatings of the heart.”†

And being, as it was, the only faculty upon the cultivation of which they could rely for the fulfilment of such high functions, it naturally became, to

* Plat. Repub. lib. 3.

† Wordsworth, “Influence of Natural Objects.”

the wise and good among them, as "the anchor of their purest thoughts,"—
not to say

"the nurse,
The guide, the guardian of their heart, and soul
Of all their moral being."——*

Christians, who are happily not circumstanced as Plato was, have higher and more authoritative intelligence on which to depend for the information of their moral judgment. But the gift of Divine Revelation was intended not to supersede, but to animate and direct, to develop in their true relations, and reclaim to their highest purposes, the gifts of nature. If taste is the natural faculty, by which man was created to apprehend and feel excellence, beauty, order, harmony and fitness—without which eye and ear cannot do their perfect office, or the soul unravel the lessons of the physical world;—if God has made in all his works something answerable to this faculty, by which it perceives them to be very good, and acquires some faint conceptions of the nature of goodness as it is in him—it cannot be less reasonable or less necessary for us than for the Athenians, to make our system of intellectual training subservient to the education of this element in our nature. We are thus brought to the inquiry, whether there is any thing in the system which we possess corresponding to the *μουσική* of the ancients, and pointed, like that, to the education of the taste? The answer is obvious. Music, in our own more limited sense of the word, we do not cultivate as the ancients did, as our neighbors of Germany and Italy do, or as some of the pious founders of our schools and colleges intended that their beneficiaries should. It might be wished, perhaps, that such intentions, as they were not unwisely conceived, were more scrupulously complied with. But although we neglect the harmonies of sound, which address themselves immediately to the bodily sense, (or cultivate them only so far as they are involved in the laws of versification,) we carry the departure from ancient principles no further than this. The study of poetry occupies with us, as it did at Athens, a prominent place in the rudimentary system; nor is this study merely passive or theoretical, any more than that of vocal or instrumental music; but the mind is forced by a continual process of imitation to prove and realize the accuracy of its own perceptions, to assimilate itself to the beauty which it is taught to observe, and to practise the harmony which it is made to feel. The notion of discord, without which the opposite principle cannot be fully illustrated, and which models of excellence are of course incapable of exemplifying, is fully brought out and impressed upon the understanding by its own imperfect attempts at imitation. This reactive process is necessary to the thorough mastery of any intellectual acquirement. It is the only way by which we ourselves or others can trace our progress, detect our deficiencies, ascertain the separate value of the elements of knowledge as we acquire them, and investigate the disturbing influences by which we are impeded. No man can acquire the Greek or Latin, or any other language, without the habit of composition in it; and

* Wordsworth, "Lines composed above Tintern Abbey."

no man can arrive at correct principles of taste by the study of poetry, without some attempt to reduce those principles into practice. Far less could any teacher measure the effect of his instruction upon the pupil's mind, in so subtle a matter as taste, without this criterion. If, therefore, the education of the taste is an important object, and if the study of poetry is rightly chosen in our schools as a suitable medium for its attainment, it will follow that the practice of verse composition is a necessary and highly valuable part of their system. And the reason why verses, which (on this view) must be written in some language or other, are in fact principally written in Latin and Greek, is sufficiently apparent from the expediency (on independent grounds) of acquiring those languages, the necessity of composing in them for that purpose, the important relations of taste to correctness of scholarship, and the convenience of pursuing, by a common instrument, two great objects at the same time. It must be confessed also, even by the warmest admirers of modern poetry, that the manner in which the principles of poetical beauty are exhibited in the classical writers is more suitable to the purposes of education than that of later schools. The ancient poets display them in their broadest and simplest, their most symmetrical and least complicated forms. What types of beauty are so capable of being subjected to an intelligible analysis, and becoming the objects of direct imitation to a youthful mind, as the *statuesque* regularity of proportions, and severe predominance of the general conception over the detail, in the Athenian drama—the majestic simplicity of Homer, swelling like the sea in a perpetual volume of unbroken yet not monotonous power—the perfect polish of Virgil and Horace, with their exquisite refinement of ear, and manifest consciousness of art and submission to rules of criticism? Another remarkable advantage is the peculiar freedom of ancient poetry from that conscious and reflective idealism (called *subjectivity* by Coleridge), which is a leading feature in the best poetry of Germany and England, but which, as the fruit of mature sentiments reacting upon individual experience, requires in the reader more or less of a corresponding moral development. The conceptions of the young are always objective, and it is idle to introduce them to a class of writers, whose appeal is made to sympathies, which as yet they do not and cannot possess. On the other hand, all those formidable objections which were urged by Plato to the use of Homer, and other classical poets, as school-authors, are to us entirely removed by the possession of Truth. Christianity draws matter of illustration rather than offence from such unworthy representations of the Divine Nature as offended, and might well offend the great philosopher, who lived in a country which knew no better theology than that of the Epic poets.

Here we might stop, and need not fear to rest our vindication of the place assigned to verse composition in the system of our public schools, upon the office which it performs in the education of the taste alone. But we should be far from doing justice to our sense of the importance of this instrument, if we were to content ourselves with establishing this point. We believe, that, while the practice of verse composition performs in this department a necessary but subordinate function, it is the instru-

ment primarily concerned in educating, together with and by means of the taste, another and a still higher faculty; one which exists in its greatest intensity in early youth, more especially in that class of minds which best repays cultivation; which is then capable of being moulded into subserviency to its practical uses, but which if neglected then either perishes altogether as years advance, or survives only to produce confusion by eccentric and unregulated movements. We mean the faculty of imagination, the soul of poetry, and of all elevated thoughts; which "ranges from earth to heaven;" which disdains the fetters of matter, sense and experience; to which invisible and impalpable things give a greater satisfaction than visible and palpable, to which the conceptions of the mind seem not less possible and scarcely less real than the perceptions of the body. It is an unquestionable fact that imagination is generally strong in childhood, and grows weaker as experience accumulates and the mind reacts upon itself. The memory, in progress of time, becomes crowded with images derived from sense; by reflecting upon which a new standard of probability is acquired; and at last, when reflection is matured, and the duties of self-government and self-responsibility are assumed by the man, his thoughts naturally concentrate themselves upon the practical rather than the ideal world. During the whole season of education this process is going on; but it is not till the early stages are concluded that the imagination finally loses its original *clair-voyance*, elasticity and self-satisfying power.

"Shades of the prison-house begin to close
Upon the growing boy,
But he beholds the light, and whence it flows,
He sees it in his joy:—
The youth, who daily further from the east
Must travel, still is nature's priest,
And by the vision splendid
Is on his way attended:—
At length the man perceives it die away,
And fade into the light of common day.*

Here, then, we have a very important and peculiar element in the constitution of the youthful mind; and the first question which suggests itself is, whether it is possible that a good system of education should fail to take notice of this peculiarity and turn it to some account. If the teacher can impress this faculty into his service, he has obtained a fulcrum on which to rest the lever which shall move the intellectual world within. Let him only make the processes necessary for the attainment of his ends assume such a shape as to captivate the imagination, and bring its energies to bear upon their performance, and he will find the pupil engaged and interested in his work, approaching it with zeal, pursuing it with excitement and satisfaction, and advancing in it with a keen appreciation of his own progress. To a boy of lively sensibilities such employments, if well directed and elevated into their just importance, will be attended with that *κίνησις καὶ κατάστασις ἀθρόα εἰς τὴν υπέρχουσαν φύσιν*, which Aristotle beautifully defines to be the essence of pleasure.†

* Wordsworth, "Intimations of Immortality in Early Childhood."

† Rhet. lib. 1.

But how is this to be done? Certainly not by the communication of that sort of knowledge which may find its place in the superstructure of scholarship, but can never lay the foundation. There is little to interest the imagination in Adam's Antiquities, Dawes' Canons, Matthiæ's Greek Grammar, or Boeckh's Political Economy of Athens. The minds of boys are often so docile, and their memories so retentive, that it is possible to pack up the contents of whole volumes like these in their understanding, to be unpacked again (perhaps with *eclat*) at school or college examinations. But the higher faculties loathe such diet, and if kept to it too exclusively or put to it too soon, sink under the cumbrous load of aimless, objectless, unmeaning and undigested facts, and lose their elasticity and vigor. Neither is the undeveloped intellect better adapted to the strong meat of argumentative reasoning. Its pleasure and its privilege is to mount up unconsciously to principles; of descending logically from premises to their conclusions, or of reflecting upon its own operations, it is naturally incapable. For this reason the young take no delight in philosophy, and history gives them but little satisfaction. So far, indeed, as it affords glimpses of the august, the beautiful, the pathetic, or the marvellous, in the characters and actions, the circumstances and fortunes of men, history has something on which the imagination can take hold; but the appeal to experience, and the tendency to practical conclusions, which constitute its main argument, awake no echo in the inexperienced mind. What then shall we say of poetry? Assuredly that here the imagination will find itself at home. But even here that restless and aspiring faculty will not be satisfied if her wings are clipped and herself chained down to the office of passive observation; she longs to be creating, activity is the law of her existence, and the poetry of others is to her as a mine of materials out of which to shape visions of her own. These impulses are met half way by the system of our public schools; which employs the instrument of verse composition to elicit them when they want encouragement, and, when once elicited, to make them subservient to the attainment of a fine and accurate scholarship, and the formation of an accomplished taste. By no other means could they be made available for such purposes to any thing like an equal extent; by these means (when justly appreciated and wisely used) they are brought completely into harness, and the teacher secures a most powerful ally within the pupil's mind. The publications named at the head of our article supply plentiful evidence of this; and the same effect is even more strikingly illustrated by the less elaborate (but not, upon that account, less interesting) compositions contained in the "*Musæ Etonenses*;" a work, the continuation of which to a later period than 1795 would be acceptable to many who are not themselves Etonians. It is impossible to read that beautiful collection, without tracing in every page the intense intellectual pleasure with which its young authors must have executed their tasks, gaining as they advanced an impetus strong enough to carry them up the steepest hills of learning without being conscious of the toil. What further argument of this can be desired when one of those authors,* after

* Lord Wellesley.

a long life spent in state-craft and other worldly pursuits, reappears as an octogenarian volunteer upon the stage, and solaces his declining years with a return to the delightful labors of his school-boy days?

But this is not all. The imagination is worth cultivating, not as an instrument merely for the attainment of other purposes, but also for its own sake. It can hardly have been intended that such a faculty, so engaging, so powerful in the youthful mind, and endued with such peculiar affinities to the unseen world, should simply die away upon the arrival of manhood, without leaving any results behind, or in any way contributing to the formation of the character. Nor indeed can it be supposed for a moment that such is generally the fact. In minds where it is naturally feeble, or has been cramped and suffocated by an ungenial nurture, it acquires but little expansion or development, and its impressions are early and easily obliterated. But in others it is too active to be so readily superseded; and if not brought into an atmosphere of "breezes bearing health from goodly places," among "images of the true and beautiful,"* it will take up with husks and garbage, and batten upon noisome food, till it has learnt to enthrone falsehood and deify evil in the soul. Hence the race of Shelleys, Byrons, Rousseaus; and men less infamously distinguished than these, whose undisciplined imagination gathered strength only to their hurt, such as Burns, Chatterton, and other "sleepless souls which perished in their pride."† Such instances have cast discredit upon the name of imagination, and not without reason; for the very circumstance that it emancipates the mind from the fetters which bind ordinary men to the practical world—the passive reliance on sensible impressions, and the weight of custom "heavy as frost, and deep almost as life"‡—this very circumstance makes imagination the most dangerous of all faculties, if not properly directed; inasmuch as it deprives those in whom it is dominant of such guidance as worldly prudence and the examples and opinions of mankind are able to supply, without ever by its own unassisted power substituting a better, and often (since it grows like what it feeds upon) substituting one incomparably worse. The just conclusion, however, to draw from such instances is, not that it is good to fight against nature, and extirpate or trample down the imagination as a hostile principle, but rather that we must endeavor to reclaim and get the mastery of a principle so powerful for good or for evil, and by a sound education teach it to know its proper laws (which are no other than the laws of taste); familiarize it with its appropriate province (which is no other than the field of ideal and intelligible, as opposed to experimental truth); and so, by giving it matter to feed upon which the full-grown intellect will not repudiate as unpractical or false, mature the "faculty divine" into a habit capable of being made the handmaid and servant of faith. For what can be more evident than its aptitude for this service? And what can be necessary to show that for this service it was originally designed, beyond the fact that it has been created what it is? Imagina-

* Plat. Republ. lib. 3.

† Wordsworth, "Resolution and Independence."

‡ Wordsworth, "Intimations of Immortality," &c.

tion cannot *believe* any more than the hand can design; yet it may be thought, with reverence, that what faith believes, it may sometimes use the assistance of imagination to realize. Where sound instruction in spiritual things has been accompanied by a discipline favorable to the just development of this faculty, the low, carnal sensualities of rationalism are incapable of producing the same impression which they might occasionally make upon minds educated under a different system. Difficulties, arising from a standard of possibility or probability based upon human experience, are not difficulties to the imaginative mind, which mounts up with ease to the perception of the vast range of being removed beyond the sphere of observation, and the certainty that finite creatures must fail in attempting to comprehend the Infinite. And in many other things—in appreciating the value of moral and cumulative evidence; in apprehending the argument from analogy; in receiving the teaching of authority; in realizing hidden senses of Scripture; in tracing great principles by hints and scattered lights; the imagination, subject to faith, has its use and office, which it ought to be carefully and religiously educated to perform.

This, then, is the last and most important of the ends, for which the imagination is nurtured together with the taste in the intellectual system of our public schools. In what degree that system may answer its ends, must depend upon many circumstances; principally upon the purity, the consistency, and the zeal with which it is carried out, and united with a sound religious discipline. That it cannot in every instance completely succeed, is obvious; there will always be boys (in character, if not in genius) like Byron and Shelley, the latter of whom says of himself, that

"nothing which my 'tyrants' knew or taught
I cared to learn;"——*

and other particular cases of failure might easily be adduced and accounted for. The real question is, as to its intrinsic tendency and general effect; and upon this point, we think, there can be little doubt. Even in instances like that of a well-known reviewer (now a cabinet minister), who has appeared before the world as the advocate of material against ideal philosophy, it is impossible to say how much misemployed vigor of intellect may be owing to that nurture of which the Cambridge Prize Poems on "Pompeii," and "Evening" were the fruit. For the rest, it is only necessary to refer to the volumes before us, where even the most common-place observer cannot fail to be struck with some of the results. One fact has been adduced, by those who mistake the purposes of the system, in proof of its inefficiency; namely, that among all the names which appear in the Oxford and Cambridge calendars, as having gained prizes at either University for compositions in verse, not more than one or two have attained to any reputation for poetry in after-life, and even those few have followed it rather as a collateral than as a principal pursuit. The fact is so; and we refer to it as direct evidence of the success of the

* Introduction to the "Revolt of Islam."

system in training up the imagination in harmony instead of contrast with sound principles of moral action, and assigning to it its proper place, in subservience to the practical duties. Few and rare are the men, whose consciences, if rightly informed, would tell them that the composition of poetry or other works of imagination was the real business of their lives. Yet we not unfrequently hear of persons destitute of genius, or but very sparingly gifted with it, whose imagination, having received an accidental development without any kind of discipline, leads them to mistake their calling, and devote themselves to a morbid, miserable pursuit of poetical fame. It is here that the benefit derived from the nurture of our schools is apparent. The verses which obtain their rewards often discover a higher calibre of genius, and a wider range of imagination—always a greater refinement of taste—than are to be found in the writings of these pretenders to poetry: and it might perhaps have been expected, by those who did not see the whole system of which this is a part, that the circumstance of being advertised and exhibited by a learned body, as the successful candidate for poetical honors, would cause many a youth to overrate his own powers, and give the rein too rashly to the imaginative faculty. The Universities, however, and the schools from which the Universities are supplied with their prize-men, have not to charge themselves with the growth of any such hot-house plants.

Those who write verses within their walls are taught to regard verse-writing as an instrument, and not as an independent object; far less as a pursuit worthy to occupy the principal share of their attention in maturer years. They issue from the place of education to take their several stations in the world, as teachers of youth, priests, physicians, lawyers, merchants, or statesmen, differing (if they differ at all) from other practical men in this respect only, that they sometimes bring a keener edge or finer polish of intellect, and (it may be) a greater elevation of sentiment, to the conflicts of life. Certain it is, that no department of scholarship has been more highly or more successfully cultivated by distinguished men. We need not glance very far back over the annals of Eton, Oxford and Cambridge, to meet with the names of Lord North, Mr. Fox, Mr. Canning, Lord Wellesley, Lord Grenville, Lord Colchester, Lord Ripon, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Stanley, Lord Morpeth; Lord Tenterden, Sir John Richardson, Baron Parke, Baron Alderson, Justice Coleridge; Mr. Hallam, Dr. Latham; Bishops Heber, W. Jackson, S. Butler, Blomfield, Copleston, Lipscomb, J. B. Sumner, Shuttleworth and many more; all of whom have been eminent as writers of Latin verse. Those, who require broad and palpable evidences of the working of the system, may be referred to such a list as this, which is at least sufficient to refute some of the objections popularly urged against it. Its characteristic fruits, however, are not of a nature to be tested by any such criterion, inasmuch as they result not from the use of any single instrument, but from the just combination of many, and consist rather in a tone and elasticity communicated to the mental faculties, and to the whole intellectual character, than in any thing which is capable of a distinct external development. It is enough to have suggested reasonable grounds for believing, that there

is in the system an inherent tendency to produce such fruits under proper management; and till it can be shown that the considerations which have been suggested are fallacious, it is to be hoped that the cavils of modern sciolists will not be suffered to weigh in favor of change with those to whom the education of the higher youth of England is confided in its early stage. If it shall ever become an admitted principle in our public schools that the communication of knowledge rather than the cultivation of the mind is the purpose of their instruction, and that the accumulation of facts in the memory is of more advantage than the education of the Imagination and the Taste, the consequence is likely to be a prevalence of worldly, empirical and unbelieving views in philosophy, morals and religion, and an amount of general intellectual degradation, little contemplated, as we are willing to believe, by some of those who speak and think most disparagingly of the present system.

ARTICLE III.

THE ORIGIN, PROGRESS AND DECLINE OF ICELANDIC HISTORICAL LITERATURE,
BY PETER ERASMUS MUELLER, LATE BISHOP OF ZEALAND IN DENMARK.

*Translated from the original in the Nordisk Tidsskrift for Oldkyndighed,
I. B. 1 H., with notes.*

By George P. Marsh, Esq., Burlington, Vt.

PART I.

WHILE many of the earlier Scandinavian historical writers, in their zeal to carry back the history of the North to the remotest possible epoch, have ventured to determine the succession of the northern kings, even before the Christian era, some modern historians, on the contrary, have fixed the commencement of all legitimate northern history as low as the period when we can first test the credibility of our own annals, by comparing them with those of other nations, and have indiscriminately rejected all older traditions, as if their authenticity and value were not worth the trouble of investigation.*

But although the genealogical series of the Norwegian and Swedish kings cannot be certainly traced, until about the time of Halfdan the Black,† and though Saxo's‡ accounts of the northern dynasties rest upon

* I omit Müller's numerous references to authorities, because most persons engaged in the study of old northern literature and history possess the original.

† A Norwegian *roitelet*, born, A. D. 823, and father of Harold the fair-haired, first king of all Norway.

‡ Saxo Grammaticus, a native of Zealand, who died, A. D. 1204. His great work is in Latin of remarkable purity and elegance, and is entitled *Danorum Regum Heroumque Historiæ*. The edition of Stephanus, Sorøe, 1644, is generally preferred, but a new edition is now publishing at Copenhagen. Müller has investigated the credibility of this historian, with great critical acumen, in his *Critisk Undersøgelse af Danmarks og Norges Sagnhistorie*, Copenhagen, 1823.

spurious or doubtful authority, there is nevertheless yet remaining a multifarious mass of traditional narratives, belonging to the heathen period of our history, which may be arranged in several distinct classes, and may thus be confirmed or discredited, by means of mutual comparison. The traits distinguishing these classes indicate a chronological succession, which cannot indeed be determined with the precision of the annalist, but may nevertheless be referred, with sufficient exactness for the purposes of the historian, to certain epochs, whose peculiar characteristics, as delineated in these narratives, exhibit the liveliest images of ages long elapsed.

Since nearly all that can be said concerning these remote periods of northern history must be drawn either from the Icelandic chronicles, or from the first nine books of Saxo's history, and it is only by a comparison with the sagas* that the long mistaken character of that work can be comprehended and illustrated, it follows that the earliest history of the North must mainly rest upon the credibility of the sagas. But while thus the critical examination of the historical literature of Iceland becomes a condition for all thorough research in old northern history, an exhibition of the causes and manner of the development of that literature cannot but possess an inherent and independent interest; for there is, perhaps, no other people, among whom we can trace the conception, birth and growth of the art of historical composition, or where we can clearly show how the memory of events struck root, and gave birth to oral narrative, how narrative propagated itself and expanded until reduced to writing, how the written narrative at length assumed the annalistic form, and became subject to arbitrary rules of composition and criticism, and how, in process of time, the spirit, which had enlivened and informed the whole, evaporated, leaving only the dead letter of chronicle—the *caput mortuum* of history—behind.

In this investigation we are first met by the question, Why it fell to the lot of Iceland to kindle the torch of the northern historic muse, and how the light thence diffused could illuminate regions so distant from that far isle? This question resolves itself into three others: Why were the Icelanders so solicitous to perpetuate the memory both of past and of contemporaneous occurrences? How were they brought to embrace them in a regular series of oral narratives? and how were they induced to commit these narratives to writing? The reply to these questions, together with some observations on the compositions thus recorded and the progress and decline of their historiography, constitutes the subject of this essay, and will perhaps serve to rectify the prevailing opinions on the credibility of the Icelandic historical memorials, and to show that it was some deeper cause than the long evenings of a northern winter that brought Saga to uplift her voice at the foot of Hecla.

The peculiar manner in which Iceland was first occupied was of itself sufficient to give a tone to the political constitution of her government, and the spirit of her people. It is well known, that after the discovery of

* Saga, from *at segja*, to speak or relate, is the common Icelandic term for history, or historical prose narrative.

this island, about the end of the ninth century, by certain piratical rovers, who were driven out of their course on a voyage from Norway to the Faroe islands, the ambitious usurpations of Harold the fair-haired drove many Norwegians thither in search of security and freedom. The remoteness of the island rendered the passage too hazardous and difficult to be undertaken by every knot of common fugitives. It was only the chieftains, who possessed large vessels, that could command the means of a voyage, which, with the necessary preparations, often occupied a full half year. Nor indeed had the common people the same reason to dread the power of Harold, as those who had borne arms against him at Hafursfiord, or those who, proud of ancestral rank and hereditary independence, could not stoop to be the liegemen of a king. The most powerful part of Norway was the district of Thronthiem, and there her ancient spirit most energetically manifested itself. The peculiar physical configuration of that district, the mighty bays and fruitful islands, at once rendering it difficult to be overrun and subdued by an invader, and familiarizing its inhabitants with the practice of navigation, had there deeply rooted the love of independence, and it was from this quarter that the most frequent emigrations of the ancient nobility proceeded.

It was soon widely rumored that bold and enterprising men had found another home in a newly discovered land, where the cattle could find nourishment abroad through the whole winter; where the rivers abounded in salmon, the interior was covered with wood, and the coasts frequented by the whale. Numbers now voluntarily resolved to remove to this island, where, as Grim said to Ingemund, men were secure from the oppression of kings, and the lawless violence of the strong, and the current of emigration soon became so powerful, that King Harold began to fear that Norway itself would be depopulated. He therefore forbade emigration, and laid an impost of five ounces of silver upon every person embarking for Iceland.

The emigrant chieftains carried with them their families, domestics, bondmen and cattle, and it was usual for relatives, comrades in arms, and other freemen, who had followed them in their martial expeditions, to accompany them on this voyage. The emigrant's future place of residence was determined by the wind and weather, and the observance of omens drawn from the religion of his fathers. When they came in sight of land, the master of the ship, after solemnly invoking the god Thor, threw overboard the *öndvegissúlur*, or the two tall wooden pillars, which had served to decorate and distinguish the *hásæti* or chair of state of the head of the family, and wherever these drifted on shore the principal mansion was reared. The first care of the newly arrived colonist was to take possession of a portion of uninhabited land, by a solemn and public act. This ceremony generally consisted in carrying fire about the tract, as it was called, or in lighting fires around it, at such distances, that each could be seen from the next, in order formally to mark the bounds of the territory which the new occupant designed to appropriate to himself; and he then, within these limits, assigned a parcel of ground for the residence and use of each freeman of his ship's company.

The observance of these solemn forms sufficiently indicates the true motives of the occupants, and the character of their possession. They were not lawless rovers fleeing to a temporary lurking place, but they were freemen, deliberately founding a free community, in the peaceful enjoyment of a new country, where every district, though governed by its own independent superior head, according to the ancient customs of the North, was yet considered to be connected, by judicial relations, with all the others. Some of the first settlers had appropriated a larger extent of territory than they could occupy for a long period. The evils of this were soon discovered, and the colonists adopted the advice of King Harold to restrict new emigrants to as much land as they could encompass with fire in a single day. The emigrating companies were in general small, but in sixty years the whole coast was taken up. The first settlers had neither time nor means to strengthen themselves sufficiently to resist or limit the new comers, who, with the same independence of spirit, appropriated to themselves whatever extent of land they pleased. The great extent of the island, the difficulty of intercommunication, and the sparseness of the population concurred to maintain this state of things for a considerable time. Relations of comity and convention, therefore, were the only ones that could exist, and such the colonists were soon driven to establish and recognize. They were all either of Norwegian descent, or emigrants from Norway. They were extensively connected with each other by the bonds of consanguinity or alliance, and most of them had been united in the common cause against King Harold. The new settlers were often at first dependent upon the hospitality of the earlier emigrants, and were afterwards conducted by them in search of convenient places of abode. These circumstances led them involuntarily to re-establish the ancient form of government, which they had been so loth to surrender in the mother country. They had there been accustomed to assemble the people of the district at the council-place, near the temple, at the principal sacrifices, and the festivities of harvest and yule. We recognize traces of these customs among the very first colonists.

Thus was formed a political constitution freer even than the ancient government of Norway, where, from time immemorial, the most powerful landholders had been obliged to recognize and do homage to the paramount authority of the kings, and a free community was established, whose powerful and independent members were united only by the bonds of moral obligation. Two only of the wealthiest colonists had so many bondmen, as to require the assignment of separate residences to any of them, and upon these they soon conferred freedom. All the other landholders were free, and each was absolute lord within his own limits and of all that pertained to his own estate. If he quarrelled with a neighbor, and found himself the stronger, or could manage to surprise him, he would slay his enemy, and then endeavor, through the mediation of the chieftain of the district or other influential man, to compromise the matter with the friends of the deceased by a pecuniary satisfaction.

The consideration enjoyed by the chieftain had its origin in the fact, that possession of the district had been taken in his name, and this again

was the consequence of the civil relations which had subsisted in the mother country between himself and his companions in emigration; but it principally rested on his prowess in warfare, or the possession of such opulence as enabled him to maintain a more numerous retinue of domestics, and a greater number of bondmen than his neighbors. His influence was important in the settlement of controversies, and those whom he had aided felt themselves bound in their turn to maintain the cause of the chief.

In the courts, or judicial councils, the ancient customs prevailed, until the formal adoption of a new code of laws. The litigants chose their judges from among the landholders of the vicinage, but though there was no want of legal formulæ to which recourse might be had, or of fine-spun technical subtleties,* by taking advantage of which the most righteous cause might sometimes be defeated, yet in general the day was carried by him who could muster the most numerous corps of partisans. In the district councils the influence of the chieftain was great, but not decisive, for he might be successfully resisted by a union of some of the "good" or opulent landholders; at the general council his influence depended upon his personal dignity and respectability, the importance of his family and relatives, and the number and strength of his retinue.

The income of the chieftain principally depended upon the quantity of land which he had reserved for his own use, and his good husbandry in the management of it, though he enjoyed some other sources of revenue. He was generally Hofgodi, the highest sacerdotal officer of the district, and received a small stipend (hottollr) from every estate within his jurisdiction, towards the maintenance and repairs of the temple, and the expenses of the great annual sacrifices. After the introduction of Christianity, the same payments were exacted, but they were now applied to defray the expense of his attendance upon the Althing or General Council. He also occasionally received an *honorarium* from those whose causes he conducted, and a duty upon all ships which came to land within his territory. The income derived from his official rank as Hofgodi was inconsiderable, and the office itself (godord) might be sold, resigned, or forfeited; for the rest, it was hereditary as in Norway. But it often happened, that some aspiring individual in the district acquired greater influence even than the chief, and was resorted to by numerous retainers.

Thus Laxdælasaga relates, that after Olaf the Peacock had returned from his honorable visit to Ireland, had married the daughter of the pow-

* The ancient Icelanders appear to have anticipated nearly all the modern refinements in the science of special pleading. They were a very litigious as well as a very warlike people, and the older sagas are full of brief reports of the proceedings of their courts of justice. The best of the sagas, that of Níáll, relating events which took place about A. D. 1000, contains a great number of judicial formulæ. Among these are summons, pleas to the jurisdiction and to the summons, former recovery, accord and satisfaction, and many others, both dilatory and to the action. Níáll himself was the most dexterous practitioner of his time, and he often displayed a knowledge of the niceties of the law, and a skill in availing himself of them, which would have done honor to a Saunders. The summons, pleadings and judgment were all *ore tenus*, and though runes were in use, it does not appear that judicial records were kept.

erful Egill Skallagrimson, and inherited his foster-father's estate, many persons attached themselves to him, and he became a great chieftain, without acquiring the dignity of the godord. During the period of emigration, the great extent of the island secured its internal peace. The Landnamsmen,* as the first settlers were called, had few contentions, for each was too much busied in developing the resources of possessions more extensive than he could occupy, to be jealous of the encroachments of his neighbors. After a large proportion of the coast was taken up, it sometimes happened that a landholder was driven from his estate by violence or threats, but the settlers were in general disposed to subscribe to the justness of a remark made by Erick of Guddal to Reidar, on such an occasion: "It is not fit, that the people fight with each other, while their numbers are so few."

Another circumstance of no small importance was the character of the Icelandic forests. These consisted of trees with short and gnarled trunks, and of course unsuitable for ship-building, nor was the want of materials for this purpose adequately supplied by the drift-wood† from America, which is often mentioned in the early sagas. In Iceland, therefore, only smaller craft could be built, and Landnåma records, as a memorable occurrence, that Avang took up a tract of land, where the timber was so large that he constructed a long-ship, or ship of war, from it. Those, who wished to trade to Norway, generally contracted a partnership with a Norwegian merchant, or purchased a vessel from that country. These merchant-ships could not be used for the purposes of the Viking or corsair, and an Icelander could engage in piratical expeditions, only by uniting with some Norwegian who possessed a long-ship. The difficulty of procuring and equipping a suitable vessel, and of collecting a crew in a country so thinly peopled, with the great distance of the island from the coasts‡ to which piratical excursions were generally undertaken, sufficiently explains the fact, that so few of the colonists engaged in predatory expeditions, though, in other respects, they closely followed the customs of their ancestors.

Thus many of Norway's bravest sons found freedom and peace in

* From land, *land*, at nema, *to take or occupy*, and madr, *man*. Hence Landnåma, the title of a work giving a minute account of the original settlement of the island.

† Most of the drift-wood is thrown on shore on the northwestern coast, and the trunks of trees are often found among it which do not grow north of the Gulf of Mexico. The value of the drift-timber and other *wreck* being very great, the attention of the Icelandic legislators was drawn to the subject of littoral rights at a very early period. The curious old code entitled Grágás (the gray goose) contains 21 chapters on the law of wreck, and the rights of all parties interested are defined with great precision.

‡ The Norwegian cruisers not only ravaged the coasts of England, France and the Spanish peninsula, but frequently visited Sicily, Italy, and even Northern Africa (Bíaland, the land of the blacks, and Serkland, the land of the Saracens). It is a curious circumstance, that the Barbary corsairs, hundreds of years after piracy had ceased in the North, should have revenged the wrongs of their ancestors on the descendants of the Vikings. In the 17th century, the Faroe islands, Norway and Iceland were visited by the Algerines; and on one occasion, they carried into slavery no less than 400 inhabitants of the latter island.

these new habitations far distant from their natal soil, and those whose early years had been spent in warlike occupations were now content with the peaceful life of a peasant, and the humble employment of distributing and overseeing the tasks of their domestic laborers. It was a natural consequence of this change of life, that the memory of the retired Viking would often recur to by-gone times, and present the labors and achievements of the past in bolder relief, because they now constituted an entire whole, strongly contrasted with his actual condition. The recollection of his own exploits would tend to awaken the memory of those of his ancestors; for the young warrior often commenced his martial career with avenging the death of his father, and first made good his claims to be considered a worthy successor, by means of the aid and encouragement of the friends and relatives of the ancestral stock.

The colonists moreover were men of distinguished birth. The Scandinavians attached much importance to this circumstance, and the fewer external marks of distinction an individual possessed, the more weighty was an advantage, which seemed to give assurance of wisdom and of valor. The stranger guest was carefully examined concerning his family relations, and even the fair maiden was wont to spurn the suitor whose origin was obscure. In the mother-country the memory of the old families was kept up among the people of the district, and those who frequented the same judicial council, and the ancestral sepulchral barrows, and the possession of an allodial estate, bore witness to the noble descent of the occupant. But of these ancient and honorable testimonials only the tradition followed the inheritors in their emigration to Iceland, and the landnamsmen were therefore the more solicitous to imprint upon the memory of their children, the story of the achievements of their fathers and of their friends in Norway, by a series of traditions which the interest of his own honor would prompt the son to transmit to his posterity. In this manner would be formed a regular and connected succession of narratives, embracing the history of a family for some generations.

The Icelandic family traditions did not in general reach very far back. The sagas of the landnamsmen usually mention only the father and grandfather, but we may easily conceive that a very conspicuous action of an ancestor might be handed down and remembered through several generations of his posterity. On the other hand, the traditions which are preserved in the songs of the bards are frequently of much earlier origin. We cannot here enter into an examination of the character and history of the ancient Old-northern poetry, but we may consider it as established, that the songs of the bards resounded in honor of the gods and heroes, among the German and Gothic tribes, as well as among the ancient Greeks and Celts. The Anglo-Saxon poem, on the exploits of Beowulf, introduces bards chanting the glorious achievements of the old Volsungs and Skjoldungs in the halls of the king of Denmark, even before the Saxons landed in Britain.

We can produce a series of historical poems, which the Icelanders probably carried with them from Norway; for when we find that Skalds, who are known to have lived before or during the time of Harold the

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fair-haired, and who were long considered by the Icelanders as models of poetical composition, both celebrated historical subjects, and made frequent use of allusions drawn from them as familiar poetical images, we cannot but perceive that the historical matter must have excited the attention and awakened the interest of the emigrants.

Thus the poems upon Vanlund, the Volsungs and Gjukungs, the echo of which we find among the Anglo-Saxons, Franks and Germans, must have been sung before the colonization of Iceland, either as we find them in Sæmund's Edda,* or in some yet more ancient form; for Brage the elder, who lived before the reign of Harold, Thiodolf of Hvine, and Eyvind Skaldaspillir, have introduced into their poems figures drawn from that poetical cyclus. That traditions concerning the Danish kings were current among the early colonists may be inferred, both from the Eddaic poems upon the Helgi, and from the fact, that the bards of that period called gold *Frøde's flour* or the *seed of Fyrisval*, and the gallows *the horse of Habor* or *of the husband of Signe*, and their knowledge of the succession of the kings of Sweden is sufficiently shown by the Ynglingatal of Thiodolf of Hvine, which Snorri† adopted as the basis of his Ynglingasaga. This poem of Thiodolf, and a similar composition of Eyvind Skaldaspillir on the ancestry of Hakon Jarl, are a decisive proof that a great number of ancient ballads were then in circulation; for no bard would attempt to celebrate a chronological succession of thirty generations, unless many before him had chanted the praises of the departed, and he was conscious that his hearers would take pleasure in recalling the exploits of those with whose fame older ballads had made them familiar.

Poems strictly historical were no doubt rare; they were not the legitimate fruit of Bragi's‡ favor, but hastily composed occasional pieces, designed to flatter some powerful chief by the poetical embellishment of his genealogy. Those in which all the achievements of a single champion were enumerated and detailed were more frequent. Thus we have still extant fragments of Thorbiörn Hornklofi's ballad on the battles of Harold the fair-haired, that of Glum Geireson on the exploits of Erick Blodox, and the poem of Guttorm Sindre on Harold Gráfell, all from the period of emigration; also of Einar Skalaglam's drapa on Hakon Jarl, entitled Velleklá, and those of Marcus Skeggiason and Hallfred Vandræ-

* The older Edda, or Edda of Sæmund, as it is often called, from the name of its reputed compiler, is a cyclus of mythological and mytho-historical poems of uncertain age and origin, but unquestionably of great antiquity. The best edition is that of Copenhagen, 3 vols. 4to, 1787—1827, with a Latin translation, notes, glossaries, and a copious and highly valuable lexicon mythologicum, by the learned Icelandic Finn Magnússon.

† Snorri Sturluson, a distinguished Icelandic, assassinated A. D. 1241, is best known as the author or compiler of the celebrated Heimskringla, the only Icelandic work which can be fairly said to have acquired a European reputation. The subject is the early history of Norway, and it is undoubtedly among the most remarkable productions of modern literature. The best edition was published at Copenhagen, 1777—1826, making, with the continuation and appendix, 6 vols. folio.

‡ Bragi is the Apollo of Scandinavian mythology.

daskald on the battles of Olaf Tryggvason, of a somewhat later date. In these ballads there was little poetical inspiration, but they consisted of highly colored figurative descriptions of the clanging blows of the sword, and the fall of champions, in numbers harmonized by alliteration and assonance,* which served to recall to memory how one celebrated exploit followed close upon another. It is observable that the elements of poetic life are more conspicuous in the older ballads, as in that of Hornklofi on Harold the fair-haired, particularly in his description of the battle of Hafursfiord, than in those of later date, as for example in the drapa of Ottar the black, on the combats of St. Olaf. But those historical ballads in which the bard gives utterance to the feelings excited by contemporaneous occurrences possess a much higher poetical value; as when Eyvind Skaldaspillir chants the praises of king Hakon Athelstansfoster,† or when one of Erick Blodöx's followers sings a drapa on the fall of his lord.

It hardly needs to be proved, that heroic ballads, chanted by the bard himself, in the court or hall of the warrior whose exploits furnished the theme, would probably be remembered, and at a period when memory alone perpetuated the name of the hero, they might be handed down orally for several generations. But there are some examples of attempts to aid the memory, by carving the verses in runic characters on wooden tablets. The mortally wounded Halmund said to his daughter: "Listen while I relate my achievements and compose a ballad upon them, and then you shall engrave it on tablets." So when Egill Skallagrimson had resolved to put an end to his life, for grief at the death of his beloved son Bödvar, his daughter Thorgerda, who had feigned a determination to share his fate, said: "I could wish, father, that we might live long enough for you to indite an elegy on Bödvar, and for me to carve it on wooden tablets."

Verses were sometimes committed to memory by a whole audience, at the time they were pronounced. When king St. Olaf drew up his army in order of battle, at Stiklestad, A. D. 1030, before the attack commenced,

* Alliteration and assonance are the characteristics of Icelandic versification. The ancient Skaldic poems are in strophes usually of eight verses, and the strophes are divided into hemi-strophes, and these again into couplets. The verses are very short, the longest containing but four feet, and they have no cæsural pause. The two verses in each couplet are always connected by *literal-rhyme* or *alliteration*, according to the following rule. In each couplet *three* emphatic words must begin with the same letter. One of these words must be found at or near the beginning of the *second* verse. Its initial is considered the *leading letter*, and governs the other two, which must be found in the *first* verse. In the shorter measures, this rule is not always adhered to. *Line-rhyme*, or *assonance*, is the occurrence, in the *same verse*, of two accented syllables, which are perfect rhymes, or which have the same consonants with different vowels. The first verse in every couplet generally has an assonance or half-rhyme, and the second a full rhyme; thus:

Heldr er vannt, en ek vilda,

Veg thinn, konúgr, segja.

Final rhyme is like that in other languages; but though much used at the present day, it does not often occur in ancient poetry.

† So surnamed from the English king Athelstan, at whose court he was educated.

he ordered his skalds to take post within the hollow square, which the bravest warriors had formed about the person of the king. "You ought to be here," said he, "and witness the fight yourselves, so that you may not need to depend upon the accounts that others may give of what you are to celebrate." The bards now consulted together, and agreed to compose a few verses in reference to the battle, which was soon to be decided. Accordingly, each recited a stanza, impromptu, and, as Snorri says, the soldiers committed the verses to memory on the spot. Poems of much earlier date were also retained in memory. In the part of Snorri's Edda* entitled *Kenningar*, we have a fragment of the bard Brage's drapa on Regnar Lodbrok, with which, in the beginning of the ninth century, he appeased the wrath of Regnar's son, Biörn Ironside. We find also in the *Kenningar* fragments of the ancient Biarkamal composed upon the death of Rolf Kraki, which St. Olaf desired Thormod Kolbrunarskald to recite, just as the battle of Stiklestad was about to commence. The whole army was enlivened and cheered by this ancient song, and called it "the spur of the royal guards." The king thanked the bard, and gave him a golden armlet, weighing half a mark. When Snorri relates in the preface to *Heimskringla*, that the songs composed by the bards of Harold the fair-haired, as well as all those which related to the succeeding kings of Norway, were remembered in his time, we are not to infer that no older poems were retained in memory; for Snorri only refers to those, which pertained to the history of the time he was considering, and which the common people could recall.

It was principally by the bards themselves, as the last example shows, that the ancient ballads were perpetuated. By listening to the recitation of these, they had formed their own poetical talent, and fixed the poems in their memory. A knowledge of the history and literary remains of antiquity was indispensable to the bard, because the poetical dialect was made up of mythological and historical allusions.

The following example of the historical knowledge of the skalds occurs in *Landnåma*. When king Harold Hardradi was lying with his fleet at Glimstein in Halland, two large sepulchral mounds were observed on a rocky promontory near the beach, but no one on board knew in honor of whom they were thrown up. One night, two of the king's followers dreamed that an armed man had appeared to them, and recited a verse in which victory was promised to the king. After their return to Norway, Kari the black, a relative of the celebrated skald, Thiodolf of Hvine, informed the king that the mounds were the burial places of Snial and Hiald, the two warlike sons of the ancient Norwegian king Vatnar. When, therefore, it is said in an old chronicle, "that there were large halls

* Snorri's Edda is in two parts. The first properly called Edda is a brief general view of Old-northern mythology, in prose, and is to be found in Latin and English in the translation of Mallett's *Introduction à l'histoire de Dannemarc*, published by Percy under the title of *Northern Antiquities*. The second part is entitled *Skálda*. This is a sort of *Ars poetica Islandica*, and has been ascribed to Snorri Sturluson. The only complete edition of the prose Edda and *Skálda* was published by Rask at Stockholm, in 1818.

for festive occasions at all the royal residences in Norway, Denmark and Sweden, and according to ancient custom, the second place of honor, which was on the northern side, opposite the throne, was occupied by the most distinguished of the courtiers, who was commonly some wise old counsellor of the king; for the kings then used to have sage old men about them to teach them examples from antiquity, and the customs of their ancestors," the author must be understood to refer to the skalds, and this is proved not only by the historical knowledge ascribed to these venerable personages, but by their occupying the highest seat on the northern side. It is said of Harold the fair-haired, "that of all his courtiers he treated the skalds with the greatest consideration, and assigned to them the second high seat." A century and a half later, the Icelandic skalds occupied the same honorable station at the court of the Swedish king Olaf Skantkonung, who admired them for their freedom of speech.

The heathen bards of the North do not correspond to the *αοιδοί* of the Greeks, whose only occupation was the recitation of their verses; they may rather be compared to the Provençal knights, who prided themselves on their skill as troubadours. The ancient skalds were commonly of generous birth, for only the higher and freer forms of social life enjoyed the favour of Bragi. They were also, like all the noblemen of the time, well skilled in all the arts and exercises of war; they chanted while they battled, and we have almost as many proofs of their valor as of their poetical inspiration. They were often the favorites and confidants of kings, as Thiodolf of Hvine, who was the most intimate friend of Harold the fair-haired, and skald Flein, to whom Eystein, a Danish king, gave his daughter in marriage.

In the bard, therefore, we might expect to find a knowledge of antiquity united to an acquaintance with contemporaneous history. The judicious Snorri observes in the preface to his work: "We have based our history on the ballads which were recited before the chieftains in whose honor they were composed, or their children; and we adopt as true whatever is said in such ballads concerning the enterprises and war-fares of their heroes. For though it be the manner of skalds to compliment most highly those in whose hall or court they chant their songs, yet none would dare to ascribe to the subject of his praise exploits, which both he and all who heard the bard would know to be fabulous; for that would be no compliment, but rather an insult."

Besides heroic ballads or drapas, single strophes were often composed and recited impromptu, on important occasions, not only by bards, but by other persons of both sexes; and these being readily retained, served to perpetuate the memory of the occasion which called them forth. Like the Orientals, the Northmen were fond of displaying their wisdom in sententious forms of speech, in riddles and antitheses; and when the ear was once familiar with the ancient simple metrical system, the transition from these formal phrases to a regular strophe, with its accompaniments of alliteration and assonance, was very easy.

The means of retaining and recalling the memory of past events, which we have thus far detailed, might, for the most part, seem to be common,

both to those who remained in Norway, and to those who emigrated to the new-found island. But in the mother country, the minds of men were occupied and hurried on by the current of passing events, and the interest attending the weighty occurrences of the day left little time and room for cultivating and treasuring up the memory of the past. The revolutionary convulsions, which, from the time of Harold the fair-haired, involved the fate of all Norway, could not but excite a deeper and wider interest than the political disturbances, which, before the subjugation of all the petty kings by that monarch, could only affect narrow communities. On the other hand, the history of each small state must appear to the Icelanders who had emigrated from it as the story of their own country; while the general history of the newly-erected kingdom of Norway would be regarded by them as that of a foreign land.

Local narratives, therefore, had a peculiar charm for the Icelanders; and the traditions, which were current in the various districts of Norway at the time of the emigration, followed the colonists to their new home, and were there united into a whole, by the mutual communications of emigrants from the different petty sovereignties of the mother country.

It was in general by the aristocratic families that historical memorials were preserved. These families maintained their rank and dignity in Iceland for many centuries; while in Norway they were reduced, first by the frequent wars between the children and grandchildren of Harold the fair-haired, and afterwards by the heated zeal of the two Olafs for the introduction of Christianity, which brought ruin on the firmest adherents of the ancient faith, who were also most distinguished for their tenacious attachment to the memory of their ancestors. Not less destructive to the old families were the unfortunate expeditions of Harold, Hardradi and Magnus Barefoot to England and Ireland in the eleventh century, and the long civil wars of the twelfth century, which terminated in the final victory of the Birkibeinar, those desperate adventurers, over the ancient aristocracy of Norway.

The other countries of ancient Scandinavia* had also many skalds; and several Danish and Swedish bards are mentioned in the traditions concerning Rolf Kraki, and the battle of Bravalla. But before the ninth century, kingdoms of great territorial extent had been erected both in Denmark and Sweden; mighty monarchs had ruled over wide domains; the heroic age had already expired, and the Northern muse had become mute long before she ceased to sing in the sister land of Norway.

We have now seen how the love of historical narrative arose among the early inhabitants of Iceland. But had the landnamsmen and their children stopped here, perhaps here and there some old tradition might have kept its ground for a few generations, but they would not have produced historians. To bring about this result, the concurrence of many other causes was required. It is mainly a taste for the poetic art, and

* The three kingdoms of ancient Scandinavia, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, used the same language, and its original appellation was *Dönsk tunga*, the Danish tongue. It was afterwards called *Norrœna tunga*, or Norwegian, and lastly, Icelandic. It is still the vernacular language of Iceland.

the sense of personal honor, nourished by the character of their civil and social institutions, to which we owe the historical literature of Iceland.

The island was colonized in peace, but internal harmony was interrupted as soon as a more extended occupation of the possessions of the inhabitants brought them into closer contact and collision, and their mutual relations became more fully developed. The bonds of civil society were too weak to hold in check so many bold and independent Northmen. The conventional regulations of the period of emigration, the code of laws promulgated by Ulflot half a century later, and the establishment of a legislative and judicial council common to the whole island, were barely adequate to found a system of judicial proceedings, whose judgments, though legally binding, were little regarded, unless the successful party could compel their execution by open force, or the countenance of influential friends. The peculiar character of the individual had abundant room for its free development, but personal security depended chiefly on personal valor. The many narratives, yet extant, of the fortunes of the principal families for the first two centuries, exhibit, therefore a constant succession of strife, violence and combats. They show, too, why this wild and unrestrained energy did not consume itself. The masses which were brought to act against each other were too small and too scattered to disturb or endanger the commonwealth. The feuds of the landholders were not attended with great slaughter, and generally ended in a surprise and single combat, in which an equal degree of courage on the one side, and presence of mind on the other was manifested. A battle in which ten men were killed was considered a bloody one.

When life had been taken, and the slayer had avowed the act, without which he was considered a craven murderer, an atonement must be made, or the perpetrator would soon experience the truth of the proverbs: "The nights of blood are swift avengers," and "The hand of the slayer glories in the blow but for a brief space." But the revenge of the Northmen was not so insatiable as that of the Orientals; it was the fruit of their sense of justice and love of honor, and they could not omit to exact it without deep and lasting disgrace; but it was satisfied by retaliation, a penalty, or an indemnification to the friends of the slain; and it was only in particular instances, where the deceased had been highly respected, that the death of one was avenged by the slaughter of many. The penalty for taking life consisted in a pecuniary mulct, forfeiture of lands or of the godord, or banishment. The mulct, which was always exacted, except where mutual murders were set off against each other, or where the slain was thought to have brought the calamity upon himself by irresistible provocation, was often large, and served to restrain contentious men from taking more lives than they had pecuniary means to compound for. To effect a reasonable compromise with the surviving friends, who alone had the right of prosecution, required much negotiation, and the interposition of influential mediators; and dexterity and physical strength were obliged to go hand in hand. The slayer was in general secure of the countenance and support of those whose cause he had espoused in the like case, and conciliated the favorable influence of others, by the expectation that

they, in their turn, would enjoy the benefit of his mediation. Thus a feud on the one hand led to alliances on the other : the valor of the victor was renowned throughout the island, and the general interest thus excited inspired the bards to chant ballads in celebration of the deed of blood.

Besides the numerous skalds, of whose verses fragments are yet extant, there were many whose names have been handed down as eminent bards, and great numbers who recited verses, impromptu, on particular occasions. Hatred, as well as love, availed itself of poetical forms, as a more forcible or graceful dress of thought. Satirical ballads, in a country where public opinion was so powerful, could not but be of dangerous tendency ; they were often repaid by a bloody revenge, and were holden to give a good ground of action at the judicial council. Many of the common ballads possessed no other merit than that of fluent versification ; but they served to raise the art of poetry in general in public estimation, and to create a taste for its study. The ancient songs now became objects of interest, simply for the sake of the poetical dialect, which was not used in colloquial language ; and the productions of the best cotemporary skalds were appreciated, popularly known and familiarly cited and repeated.

Some of these verses were amatory, others descriptive, but they were chiefly narrative, or upon historical themes. The bard often celebrated his own exploits, and sometimes those of his friends, from whom he usually received presents in return for praise. When the Norwegian Eyvind Skaldaspillir had composed a drapa in praise of the Icelanders, every landholder in Iceland contributed silver to the amount of three silver-pence, from which was wrought a border to a cloak of the weight of fifty marks.

The climate and mode of life also tended to cherish the love of the poetic art, which the Icelanders had inherited from their ancestors, and which the spirit of freedom had maintained, by affording them many leisure hours, and by promoting the intercourse of social life. The cultivation of grain, which requires much labor, was practised in but few places, and was of very trifling importance. Agriculture was confined to the enclosing and enriching of meadow land. The harvest consisted in curing and securing hay, by the abundance or deficiency of which, the fertility of the year was estimated. The hay harvest was the most laborious period of the year, and while it lasted all feuds were suspended. The fishery occupied only certain seasons, and the rearing and management of stock, the principal source of rural income, required little attention. The warlike enterprises of the chieftains occupied little time, and a fortnight sufficed for the most formidable of these petty campaigns ; but if after a successful inroad, it was thought necessary to secure themselves against retaliation, they were obliged to keep a sufficient force together until the matter was compromised. The people of every family, even on the largest estates, frequented a common hall, where there was a separate seat for the women, which they often occupied, although they had also apartments for themselves. These domestic assemblages could not fail, in the long evenings of winter, to occasion familiarity of intercourse, and to promote

a taste for lively pastimes. Much time was spent in social amusements. Besides the great entertainments, which lasted from eight to fourteen days, public games were held every year in the different districts, for several weeks in succession, generally consisting in ball-playing and wrestling, which were attended by the whole population of the vicinity. The horse-fights, where the sport consisted in provoking horses to fight each other, were very generally frequented by both old and young. In addition to these assemblages, were *fjordungsthing*, or quarter-sessions, and the *althing*, or general council, where all the principal men of the island annually convened. Not to attend the althing was considered a disgrace, and it was the pride of the chieftains to appear in such state as to attract the attention of the multitude.

The sense of honor and self-respect, which, under so free a constitution, would spontaneously develop itself, was undoubtedly quickened by these frequent public meetings; for upon public opinion depended not only the personal security of the individual, but, for the most part, the power of the chieftains. When an individual had become unpopular in his district, all secret mischief was generally imputed to him, and he was speedily driven off. If one was thought cowardly, he could hardly be secure from insult and injury, and was obliged to take refuge under the protection of some stronger or more spirited neighbor. The power of the chieftain was determined by the number either of his followers, or his friends, and this again depended upon the protection and countenance which was to be expected from him, and his reputation for zeal in espousing, and skill and success in maintaining the cause of his retainers. The chieftains, therefore, were prompt and assiduous in advocating the causes of their clients, even when they were expected to end in a bloody feud, because their own credit was involved in the result.

When a cause was to be undertaken, it was requisite to understand thoroughly the character and habits of the patron of the opposing party; whether he was disposed to resort to judicial combat, or was dexterous in availing himself of legal subtleties; whether he was prone to appeal to arms, sagacious and cunning, or strong in the numbers and weight of his friends and relatives. As European international politics require a knowledge of the character of princes, so the security of the Icelandic peasant demanded that he should be acquainted with the capacity and disposition of the different chieftains.

These institutions, lying at the foundation of civil society, explain the avidity with which all Icelanders received new sagas, or narratives of the remarkable acts of their cotemporaries. It is said at the close of *Laxdælasaga*, that when Bolli Bollason, a brave Icelandic of the eleventh century, in a journey through the island, had been first insulted, and then assaulted by a peasant, whom he courageously overcame, this journey and its attendant circumstances furnished the theme for a new saga, which was circulated through all the districts, and added much to the reputation of Bolli. In *Gisli Surson's saga*, a stranger is introduced desiring one who sat near him at the council, "to point out to him the distinguished men concerning whom there are sagas in circulation."

Most of the extant sagas bear this (if it may be so called) political impress. They contain an account of the most important controversies in which an individual, family or neighborhood took part, and these are detailed with the most circumstantial minuteness, and usually accompanied by a sketch of the characters of the principal dramatis personæ. The importance attached to such sketches might be inferred from the structure and composition of the language itself, which is much richer than any modern European tongue in shades and gradations of expression, suited to indicate the mental qualities most important to society, such as vigor and energy, or weakness and imbecility, moderation and placability, or obstinacy and vindictiveness. With the same exactness, they depict the external appearance of the principal personages, especially the features, complexion and expression,* and even their habitual style of dress is not overlooked. This scrupulous minuteness might be ascribed to the propensity to individualize, so characteristic of the Icelandic chroniclers, but close accuracy of observation and description was far from unimportant in a country where life itself might depend on the ability to discern whether the distant wayfarer was a friend or an enemy. *Laxdælasaga* furnishes a striking example of the possession and value of this precise knowledge of men's persons. Helgi Hardbeinson, a man of great bravery, being once at his *shieling* in the mountains, his shepherd-boy came to him, and told him he had seen several strange horsemen at their breakfast in the vicinity. Helgi inquired the dress and appearance of each, and from the accurate description of the shepherd, he was able to pronounce who they all were, though he had never seen several of them.

The sagas are marked throughout by the same peculiarities. The personality of the narrator nowhere appears, and we seem to be listening to the simple echo of popular tradition. The narrative is neither preceded by an introduction, nor accompanied by remarks, and almost uniformly begins thus: "There was a man named N, a son of N, etc." No opinion is expressed in reference to the character of particular actions, though it is sometimes said, that such or such an act increased the reputation of an individual, or that it was disapproved by many. In most sagas the dialogistic form prevails, and the older they are, the more it predominates. This form seems also the most natural; for in our own time the common people involuntarily throw narration into the form of dialogue. By this means the story acquired a poetical coloring, for we have not only the conversations which were actually heard by the spectators, but those which we may infer to have taken place between the parties, from the transaction itself. While the forms of speech were simple, the refinement of all ranks about on the same level, and individual character was

* Take the following example from *Gunnlaug's Saga*, p. 44. "It is said of Gunnlaug, that he was precocious in all his faculties, both corporeal and mental, large of stature and powerful; his hair yellowish, but becoming; eyes black; nose rather misshapen, but of a prepossessing countenance; he was small in the waist, broad shouldered, and well proportioned; of martial appearance and carriage, turbulent in temper and daring from infancy; unyielding and pertinacious; a great poet, but sarcastic, and therefore surnamed the serpent-tongued."

strongly pronounced, these supposed dialogues were, at least in the main, truthful. But the liveliness of the narrative, and the interest it would excite, would be proportioned to the clearness of the narrator's conception of the spirit of the action, and the temper of the parties, and his success in hitting their peculiar tone.

Where much is orally related, and stories are listened to with avidity, the talent of narration will be strongly developed in the individual. The bard, whose memory was stored with ancient traditions, and who was possessed of a lively imagination, would most readily adopt the dramatic form, and independent of its political interest, the story would now become attractive for its own sake. Thus in Viga-Glum's saga, we find an example of the popular fondness for this species of amusement scarcely a century after the colonization of the island. One day, it is said, when many people were assembled at the bath of Rafnagil, Thorvard arrived. He was a man of a gay and cheerful temper, and famous for his powers of social entertainment. "Is there any one here," inquired he, "who can amuse us with any thing new?" "There is always fun and sport enough where you are," said they. "Well," said Thorvard, "I can now think of nothing more entertaining than to recite some of Glum's ballads," and thereupon he chanted one of them which he had committed to memory. In Sturlungasaga, Ingemund, a priest, son of Einarr, is said to have been "a very intelligent man, and an adept in the art of narration; he was agreeable in conversation, and composed very good verses, for which he received presents when abroad." Such a *raconteur* was called *sagnamadr*, or story-man.

When narration was recognized as an art, and consequently the form of the story became an object of attention, it was an easy transition to regard the form as more important than the substance, and to endeavor to interest and amuse by fictitious narrative, instead of real history. Thus Sturlungasaga, in describing an entertainment, A. D. 1119, "where there was abundance of jollity and sport, a variety of games, dancing, wrestling and story-telling," relates that "Rolf of Skalmarness recited a saga concerning Raungvid the berserk and sea-king, King Olaf, the opening of Thrainn's sepulchral mound, and Romund Greipson, interspersed with many verses. This saga diverted King Sverrir, who remarked that such fabulous sagas (*lýgisögur*) were very entertaining, but that there were many persons who could trace their genealogy back to Romund, who was a real historical personage. Priest Ingemund recited the saga of Orm Bareyjarskald with several ballads, and at the end of the story a fine poem of his own composition."

This passage shows that as early as the beginning of the twelfth century fictitious sagas were recited in connection with historical narratives, but were not confounded with them, and it furnishes an instance of the practical application of historical criticism, in tracing the origin of the fiction to a historical source. The testimony of King Sverrir is no doubt cited, in order to show that these tales had been approved by a high authority, which seems to imply that many had held them in little estimation.

The person here introduced as a reciter of sagas was a priest, and we

shall see in the sequel that ecclesiastics first reduced the history of the North to writing. And hence we might infer, with some foreign literati, that all our early history was composed by monks. Such indeed was the fact in other countries of Europe, but in Iceland it was otherwise. Had we not already shown how political interest gave birth to the sagas, the character of those which have come down to us would sufficiently indicate their origin. If we except the biographies of the bishops, and the legends of saints, we have only the two recensions of the history of Olaf Tryggvason, which can be ascribed to the monks. The monkish interpolations in the old sagas are characterized by pious observations and other infallible marks of the spirit of the cloisters, and thereby contrast strongly with the tone of the genuine chronicle. The diction often resembles that of the *Royal Mirror** in the multiplicity of epithets and a certain rhythm which seems borrowed from the Latin of the middle ages. In the best original sagas, on the contrary, we find no trace of the religious opinions of the author, no sneering expressions concerning the ancient deities of the North, no edifying remarks. The omens, dreams and apparitions of which we read, have the true native northern stamp, and are recounted with honest simplicity. The occurrences which are told with the greatest spirit and feeling are the vicissitudes of war, judicial proceedings, and the improvisation of verses. Such narratives are not the product of monastic life.

We have now traced the origin and progress of the art of oral narration in Iceland, and shown how it began with the mythological, developed itself in the historical, and ended in the fabulous. We have arrived at the period when many sagas had been reduced to writing, and books began to be collected. But we have thus far studied only the development of a taste for the domestic history of the island; for it was this which excited the fondness of the Icelanders for historical research, and dictated the form which traditional narrative assumed. It now remains to inquire how this spirit of investigation was brought to embrace a wider scope. We therefore retrace our steps, in order to show how the primitive condition and circumstances of the Icelanders contributed to make them the historians not only of Iceland but of the whole North.

The secluded position of the island would seem to preclude its inhabitants from much connection with other countries, or much solicitude concerning their fortunes; but the intercourse with Norway had been main-

* *Kongs-Skugg-Sjo*, or the *Royal Mirror*, is supposed to have been written in Norway in the 12th century, and has been ascribed to King *Sverrir*. It seems to have been intended to embrace a complete course of education for a prince or nobleman, but is unfortunately incomplete. The parts extant contain instructions for the merchant and the courtier. *Halfdan Einarson* published an edition of the *Kongs-Skugg-Sjo*, with a Danish and a Latin translation at *Sorøe*, in 1768.

† As in the following extract from a monkish eulogy on King *St. Olaf*, in *Saga Olaf's Konungs hins helga*, K. 60, *Forðmannna Sögur* IV. p. 111. Hann var harðr við hermenn, stríðr við stuldamenn, óþýðr við alla ósídumenn; hann refsadi rán ok hegndi allt þat, er guds rétti var raskat, &c. He was hard upon heroes, stiff against stealers, severe towards the sinful; he wreaked vengeance on robbers, and checked by chastisement all wrongs 'gainst religion, &c.

tained, and an interest in the affairs of the mother country thereby kept alive. Emigration continued for several generations, even after the whole island was taken up, and many traders made annual voyages between Norway and Iceland. They imported bread-stuffs, building-timber, fine cloths and tapestry, which they exchanged for money or merchandize; such as furs and skins, wadmel and other coarse cloths, and especially dried fish.

As soon as a merchant landed in Iceland, the *hofgodi*, or superintendent of the temple, and afterwards the head-man of the district, rode down to the ship and inquired the news from Norway, after which he fixed the prices of the wares for the customers from the district, selected for himself such as he required, and invited the master of the ship to spend the winter with him. The guest was received and treated as a member of the family, participated in their feuds as well as in their festivities, entertained them at the Yule holidays with the recitation of sagas, and at his departure presented his host with English tapestry, or other valuable articles, as a recompense for his hospitality during the winter. Commercial voyages had taken the place of piratical expeditions during the early period of colonization, and the merchants or shipmasters were often men of distinguished family, and, being sometimes attached to the royal court, they were well acquainted with the politics and history of the day. How much this intercourse contributed to augment the stock of historical materials may be learned from an ancient manuscript of King St. Olaf's saga. It is there said that, "in the time of Harold the fair-haired, there was much intercourse between Norway and Iceland. Every summer fresh intelligence was received, which was treasured up, and made the basis of new sagas."

The Icelanders not only received intelligence from abroad, but often sought it at the fountain-head. The principal motives which first induced them to revisit the mother country were the desire of visiting their friends, the establishment of their claims to inheritances, and the procurement of better building-timber than the ordinary traders brought. The chieftains took much pride in entertaining a great number of guests, and for this purpose they required a spacious structure, consisting of a single large hall, unbroken by partitions, and with the fire in the centre. The dimensions of the building, of course, were regulated by those of the timbers, and the length of the sticks was, therefore, a matter of great consequence.

On the other hand, young men of spirit repaired to Norway for the purpose of there engaging with the sea-kings in predatory expeditions, or of seeking advancement through the influence of powerful relatives; and many of them rose to high favor with the Norwegian kings. Others, who did not choose to attach themselves to the court, entered into commerce, with the view of acquiring wealth or experience and reputation; for the old northern maxim, "*heimshr er heimalit barn*"—helpless and simple the homebred child—was long respected in Iceland. Thus Bolli Bollason said to his father-in-law Snorri Godi, who endeavored to dissuade him from a foreign voyage: "He who knows only Iceland appears to me far from a wise man." Traffic was often considered by aspiring men merely

as a means of acquiring a knowledge of foreign customs, and when their objects were accomplished, they settled down permanently in Iceland.

About two generations after the occupation of the island, the fondness for visiting foreign lands received a new impulse from a cause which powerfully aided in the accumulation of historical materials. The skalds repaired from Iceland to England, the Orkneys, and especially to the Scandinavian courts, to acquire fame and wealth by the exercise of their poetic talent. They needed neither the aid of friends nor mercantile commodities to sustain them in their wanderings. The bard boldly entered the hall when the king was seated at the festive board in the midst of his courtiers, craved leave to recite an ode in honor of the king, and when it was ended, received in return for the compliment splendid weapons, garments, and more frequently golden armlets, together with honorable entertainment at the royal residence.

It was either the example of Egill Skallagrimson and some others, which encouraged many of their countrymen to try the same path to fortune, or it was merely the old northern custom of resorting to neighboring kingdoms in search of advancement, that the Icelanders followed; for, while Scandinavia was divided into a great number of petty sovereignties which were continually at war with each other, the Northmen seem to have considered themselves as more truly constituting a single and entire people, and to have felt themselves more at liberty, among the multitude of petty roitelets, to do homage to the king of their own choice, than afterwards, when the three great kingdoms were separated from each other, by consolidation into greater distinct masses.

The principal cause of the distinction, which was awarded to the Icelandic skalds, is to be found in their professional superiority; and this is to be ascribed to the circumstance that poetry was the echo and appropriate expression of the spirit of the ancient North, which had maintained itself in Iceland, while in the other northern lands it had undergone great modification, partly through the increased power of the kings, and partly in consequence of the introduction of Christianity. The more perceptible this modification became, the more conspicuous was the superiority of the Icelandic skalds, especially as their verses continually assumed a more artificial form, and were filled with far-fetched mythological allusions, in the use and application of which the Icelanders excelled, because they were most familiar with the ancient religion and poetic dialect. Moreover, the panegyric of a free and independent foreigner would be more flattering to the pride of a king than the praise of his own pensioned court-bard, and he would think it for his own honor generously to reward the itinerant skald, who, in his wanderings from land to land, would spread far and wide the fame of the royal munificence. The odes chanted on such occasions were all of a historical character. The bard, therefore, must learn the story of the achievements of the reigning kings and their ancestors, and thus, in his tour to the various courts of the North, he would become familiar with its general history. It was also expected of the bards, that, in addition to their own compositions, their memories should be stored with ancient ballads; and

we may learn how copious a stock of these poems they were able to retain, from the story of the skald Stuf, who one evening chanted sixty songs before King Harold Hardradi, and could recite four times that number of longer poems, for which reason an honorable place was assigned him among the courtiers.

If an acquaintance with history was important to the wandering skald, it must have been indispensable to the itinerant story-man. We have, from the time of King Harold Hardradi, a remarkable account of a story-man, who went about exercising his art.

One Thorsteinn arrived at the court of King Harold, who inquired of him what he could contribute to the entertainment of the court. He replied, that he could repeat a few sagas. "Well," said the king, "I will retain you in my service, and you shall recite your narratives for the amusement of those who may desire to hear them." Thorsteinn became quite acceptable to the courtiers, and received presents of dresses from them, and the king bestowed a good sword upon him. Towards Yule he became melancholy. The king suspected the exhaustion of his stock of stories to be the cause of his depression, and that he had nothing left to produce at the Yule festivities. He confessed this to be true, and said that he knew but one saga more, which he dared not recite, because the subject was "your majesty's travels and achievements abroad."* The king told him he might commence the recitation of the saga at the beginning of the Yule festivities, and promised to arrange matters so that it should hold out through the holidays. Accordingly, after Thorsteinn had recited a portion of the story on the first day, the king interrupted him, and bade him suspend the narrative. It was resumed the following day, and again interrupted; and thus from day to day, until it was brought to its termination at the close of the holidays. Thorsteinn now awaited the king's judgment upon the saga with great anxiety. The king said, at last, that he was very well satisfied with it. "You have told it," added he, "in your very best manner. But where did you learn it?" "It was my custom," replied Thorsteinn, "to repair to the Althing in Iceland every summer, and I composed the saga from what Haldor Snorrason† related there." The king then gave him a ship's cargo, and Thorsteinn long continued to make annual voyages between Iceland and Norway.

In order to comprehend how a narrative of this character could be extended to so great a length, though it probably entered into no description of the countries which Harold visited (for such was not the custom of the Icelanders), we must imagine it thrown into the form of dialogue, and probably embellished with occasional verses. From this example we also learn, that as the story-men were of later origin than the bards, they

* Harold Hardradi, king of Norway in the eleventh century, brother of St. Olaf, was much distinguished for his adventures at Constantinople, where he served in the celebrated corps of Væringjar, (Waranger, *Βαγγαροι*), who constituted the imperial body-guard, in the time of Michael V. and Zoe. His very romantic story is found in the third vol. of the great Copenhagen edition of *Heimskringla*, and in the sixth vol. of *Fornmanna Sögur*.

† Haldor was one of Harold's followers in his expedition to the Mediterranean.

were held in lower estimation; for the skald was a courtier, while the story-man was considered simply as one who furnished an agreeable pastime.

In the eleventh century the Icelanders wholly ceased to engage in predatory voyages, and the head-men, whose wealth and influence had increased, began to look with contempt upon commercial pursuits, but other causes still maintained the frequency of foreign travel. Banishment from Iceland for several years was a common consequence of private feuds, and they sometimes undertook penitential pilgrimages to Rome. Their route to the eternal city lay through Denmark, where they were sure to be well received by the king, and there are several examples of Icelandic chieftains who were treated with great distinction at the court of Valdemar II. in the thirteenth century. Thus *Ljosvetningasaga* relates that Oddi Grimson, returning penniless from a pilgrimage to Rome, had recourse to King St. Canute, who gave him and each of his eleven companions three marks of silver. And when Sturla Sighvatson, upon his route to Rome, repaired first to Denmark, he was received with great consideration by King Valdemar II., A. D. 1223. Upon a like occasion, Urækja, the son of Snorri Sturluson, was presented to the same monarch, in whose praise he recited an ode, and was presented with a horse which he rode to Rome, A. D. 1256.

The Icelanders who went abroad, from whatever cause, usually returned and established themselves in their native land, after a few years absence. Thus King Harold Gormson could not prevail upon Gunnarr, of Hlidarenda to remain in his service, though he offered to provide him a wife, and great power and possessions. On another occasion Hakon said to Finnbogi Rammi: "Thus it is with most of you Icelanders; as soon as you acquire favor and influence with foreign rulers, you take your dismissal."

When an Icelander returned from travel or residence abroad, he was received with the greatest attention; his acquaintance was courted at the Althing, and he was expected to give an account of his journey, and of any interesting events which he had witnessed, or of which he had heard, while abroad. Curiosity is said to be a characteristic of islanders, and it seems to have prevailed among the Icelanders with a strength proportioned to their remoteness from the continent. As soon as a ship arrived on the coast, the people usually flocked to the shore to inquire the news, unless the chieftain had reserved to himself the honor of making the first visit. Thorsteinn Ingimundson, a hospitable Icelander of the tenth century, considered all foreigners arriving within his jurisdiction bound first to pay him their respects, and communicate the news, and was highly incensed at some strangers who neglected this mark of attention. So we learn from Olaf Tryggvason's saga, that when Kjartan arrived from Norway, and was much dejected at the infidelity of his betrothed, and the treachery of an intimate friend, who had supplanted him in the faithless fair one's affections, his father was grieved and mortified by his gloomy taciturnity, which deprived his friends of the pleasure expected from his recital of his adventures. When he was afterwards induced to contract

marriage, and a splendid wedding entertainment was given, nothing gratified the guests more than the bridegroom's account of the time he spent in the service of the noble and generous King Olaf Tryggvason. However anxious the Icclander, just arrived after a long absence, might be to learn what had transpired at home since his departure, he was expected first to communicate to his countrymen the intelligence from abroad, and thus was doubtless often tempted to retort in the tone of Thorleif Jarlaskald, when Jarl Hakon overwhelmed him with questions about his travels: "It is an old proverb, that 'heavy is the discourse of the hungry,' and therefore I will relate nothing to you, unless you give me food, for it becomes not a prince to bore a stranger with a multitude of questions, without stopping to consider his necessities." A characteristic trait occurs in the life of Bishop Magnus, who returned by way of Norway from a visit to Saxony, A. D. 1135. The people, at the moment of his arrival, were attending the council, and in hot contention about a cause where opinion was much divided; a messenger announced the approach of the bishop, to the great joy of the assembly, who immediately dissolved the council, and the bishop was obliged to address the multitude from a small eminence near the church, and relate to them all the interesting occurrences which had transpired in Norway while he was abroad.

Such relations, from credible and responsible sources, circulated from mouth to mouth, and were generally reported upon the authority of the first narrator. The sagas accordingly often adduce the name of the person who brought to Iceland the first intelligence of any remarkable occurrence, as an evidence of the authenticity and truth of the story.

[*To be concluded.*]

ARTICLE IV.

COLONIZATION OF ANCIENT AND MODERN NATIONS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE influence of colonization on the political, commercial and social relations of the world, in ancient as well as modern times, has been immense. During the middle ages, however, the states of Europe, excepting the Genoese and the Venitians, had no foreign colonies. It was not until after the discovery of America and the way by sea to the East Indies, that the other European governments, the Spanish, the Dutch, the English and the French, and some others, became, in succession, colonial powers, and gave an impulse and political importance, to the commercial intercourse of nations, before unknown. As new countries have been discovered new colonies have been planted, or permitted, and whole continents have thus become possessed and partially peopled by European races.

In our sketches of the literature of different countries, we shall often have occasion to consider the influence of these colonies upon the nations, under whose governments they continue to be cherished, or from which they have gone out to form new communities and assert their rights as independent nations. It is well then that our readers should be introduced to this general subject, by such a brief view of the *colonization of ancient and modern nations*, as is presented in the following article. It is, as we presume, from the pen of Robert Montgomery Martin, Esq., the able Editor of the "Colonial Magazine," and author of a recent and valuable "History of the British Colonies;" whose researches have of course led him to a familiar acquaintance with the subject. SR. ED.

From the Colonial Magazine.

COLONIZATION*—*i. e.* the occupation and tillage of waste lands—is in obedience to the primary law of Heaven, which decreed that man should "be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it."

The earliest records of our race consist chiefly of histories of migrations from one part of the globe to another, as population increased or as civilization augmented the wants, and thus added to the improvement and happiness of mankind. The same principle is in operation throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms: gregarious animals separate in herds, and disperse themselves over a country as pasture diminishes; trees and roots send winged seeds, or offshoots, to a considerable distance, to perpetuate their stock, or in search of nourishment: and fish, particularly the cetacæ, migrate from sea to sea, according to their respective exigencies.

But the natural desire for an abundant sustenance, which impels the instinctive principle in animals, is in man counteracted by a strong attachment to his native land, by the love of kindred, and by those social ties which bind together human societies with those powerful and endearing links of affectionate solicitude for each other's welfare:—and it is well ordained that it should be so. Man would never rise above the nomade state but for those local associations which attach the hardy islander to his native home, and give an indescribable charm to the river, the mountain and the glen, where the days of childhood have been spent, and where the emotions arising with our first ideas have been enjoyed.

Colonization then is inherent in our very being, for as civilization advances, the natural feelings of local attachment, however strong, be-

* *Colonia*, in the Roman acceptation of the word, originally signified as much land as one person could cultivate—"quantum colonus unus arare poterat." From *colonus*, a husbandman, was derived *colonia*, a body of husbandmen, sent out from the parent stock to cultivate the earth, and, by a metonymy, the place to be cultivated received the same term as the inhabitants who were to cultivate it—*colonia*—hence the word colony. The Greek word for colonies was *ἀποικία*—a separation of dwelling—a departure from or going out of a house. And this idea was in unison with the character of the Grecian colonies.

come weaker and weaker. The duty of providing for offspring—the desire for adventure—the love of conquest—a difference in religious or political sentiments, and the impulsive thirst for extended information, and for expanded improvement, each and all tend to disseminate mankind over regions, which, from their position, advantages or beauty, present the best prospects of future comfort, security and happiness.

We see these principles operating in the histories of Shem, Ham and Japhet—of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob—and of Moses, Joshua and Caleb; in later times, of Egypt, Greece, Carthage and Rome; and still later of Spain, Portugal, Holland, France and England. In sacred writ we find narrated the division of the earth among the sons and descendants of Noah (Gen. x. 25), and the spread of men over the globe, owing to the want of pasture for augmenting flocks, extending agriculture, commercial industry, a desire for new dominion, or an anxiety for proselytism.

Egypt, so far as we can trace, sprung from a people who possessed Ethiopia, and thence spread themselves into Upper Egypt, founded Thebes, colonized along the fertile delta of the Nile, and subsequently founded Grecian and Phenician settlements, principally with a view to extend their religion, to promote commerce, and to transmit a name to posterity by marvellous and stupendous works.

The Greek colonies in the maritime parts of Asia Minor, in the Ægean and Ionian seas, and in Italy, had their origin, partly in a superabundant population (particularly of slaves), for whom it was difficult to provide means of subsistence; and partly from the frequent internal commotions which drove the vanquished Greeks to seek in distant parts a secure asylum, rather than remain in subjection to their opponents. Thus commercial enterprise, or disappointed ambition, or the desire of fame induced many Greek adventurers to fit out expeditions for the foundations of colonies at their own expense—Ægialeus in Sicily, Inachus in Argos, Cecrops in Attica, Janus in Italy, Cadmus in Thebes (Greece.)*

* The chronology of some of the ancient colonies established, of which we have record, is as follows:—

In 1615, *a. c.* The Ethiopians, it is said, arrived from the Indus, and settled in Egypt.

1582. Cecrops is supposed to have migrated into Attica.

1546. Scamander from Crete founded Troy.

1498. Cadmus carried into Greece the Phenician letters, and founded Thebes.

1284. The Siculi passed out of Italy into Sicily.

1263. Expedition of the Argonauts.

1243. Arcadians conducted by Evander into Italy.

1233. Carthage built by colonists from Tyre.

1124. Migration of the Æolian colonies.

1044. The Ionian colonies migrate from Greece.

732. Syracuse built by a colony of Corinthians under Archias.

713. Gela in Sicily founded.

707. Tarentum built by the Parthenians on being expelled from Sparta.

703. Corcyra (now a British colony) founded by the Corinthians.

665. Messenians on their expulsion from Peloponnesus colonized in Italy.

658. Byzantium built by a colony of Argives.

539. The Phocæans settled in Gaul, and built Marseilles.

469. Tuscans settled a colony at Capua.

Hence the Grecian settlements were often formed by a large number of individuals emigrating at once, and in organized communities,* from their native land, to which they yielded no compulsory obedience, but with which they remained united in a species of feudal connexion, voluntarily aiding their common country with supplies of money, and a proportion of ships and warriors, when the states from which they respectively sprung, or to which they had attached themselves, were threatened by a foreign enemy, or they furnished mercenary troops, as the Greeks had themselves done to Alexandria, when they were Egyptian colonists.

In the present day, such settlements would not be considered colonies; they were virtually independent states, maintaining an alliance with those stronger governments which were able to afford them protection, and of no real or permanent use to the mother-country in reference to perpetuity of empire.

Of the Phenician colonies, Carthage was the most celebrated. The city whence the state derived its name was built B. C. 878, and destroyed B. C. 146.

Throughout the greater part of its existence of 732 years, Carthage was engaged in extending its limits beyond the confined spot on the African coast, where the town was first established, or in struggling to maintain an individual supremacy over the distant islands and lands which its adventurous mariners had discovered or its well-skilled troops acquired by force of arms. For many miles in the interior of Africa, or along the shores of the Mediterranean, beyond the Pillars of Hercules, Carthage possessed settlements or tributaries; Sardinia, formerly a possession belonging to Etruria, was one of her earliest colonies; and the agricultural resources

444. The Athenians sent a colony to Thurium in Italy, and among the colonists were Herodotus, Thucydides and Lysias.

304. Seleucus founded Antioch, Edessa, Laodicea, etc.

237. Hamilcar and his son Hannibal led the Carthaginians into Spain.

118. Narbonne founded by Rome.

66. Crete a Roman colony.

51. Gaul a Roman province.

45. Cæsar rebuilt Carthage and Corinth.

50. A. D. London built by the Romans.

82. Agricola reduced South Britain to a Roman colony.

310. Britain divided into four governments by Constantine.

426. The Romans ceased to consider Britain as a colony, and resigned its government.

449. The Saxons colonized in Britain.

* The colonies of the Dorians were established chiefly in Italy and Sicily, then inhabited by barbarous nations; those of the Ionians and Æolians, in Asia Minor and the islands of the Ægean Sea; but they all refused aid to the mother-country, unless fair terms were proposed. Thus the Sicilian colonies denied the admission of an Athenian army into their territory to rest, while proceeding on an expedition; Syracuse refused to assist the Lacedæmonians during the Persian war, unless their chief magistrate, Gelon, were allowed to command the united forces; Corcyra, a colony of Corinth, appealed for assistance to Athens against the attempted oppression of the parent state, and proved of great use to Athens during the Peloponnesian war; Potidæ, another Corinthian colony, threw off the yoke of Corinth for some time, and was protected, but finally oppressed, by Athens.

and mineral wealth of the island rendered its possession very valuable to Carthage. Malta, Majorca and Minorca, which had been previously under the sway of Tyre, yielded to the supremacy of Carthage. The sole occupation of Sicily was long contested with the Greeks, and its entire possession would, most probably, have delayed, if not averted, the ultimate effects of the Punic wars; during the very first of which Sicily and Sardinia were lost to Carthage.

Along the coasts of Spain, on the shores of Great Britain and Ireland, and as far, if not farther south than the Senegal and the Gambia, Carthage acquired settlements, or extended her commerce; the leading principles of which were, an exclusion of all other nations from any participation in the trade of her distant settlements or commercial allies.

Rome, soon after its foundation, was strengthened by colonies; the first of which was Cænina in Italy, A. V. C. 4. Colonies such as these were, from an early period, planted in the neighborhood of the imperial city; to which they served as outworks of defence, and to supply the necessities and luxuries of life. During the second Punic war, no less than sixty such colonies were established.

On the destruction of the Carthaginian power, and as the soil of Italy became densely peopled, the attention of Rome was still more strongly turned to the extension of colonies. The spirit of conquest, the necessity of providing for a large disbanded and often mutinous soldiery, who could find no other sustenance but in the tillage of the earth; the Agrarian laws, by which the senate were obliged to provide all citizens with land; the augmentation of slaves, and the abundance of money, for which a profitable investment was found alone in the cultivation of the soil,* all led to a rapid augmentation of the Roman colonies.†

The lands of conquered countries were considered the property of the state, and they were parcelled out among the public officers of the government, apportioned to the citizens for whom land could not be provided at home, and distributed among the army. Military establishments were formed in the most fertile or most secure places, whence the wealth of the colony could be obtained, and its possession secured against any rising of the native inhabitants. Colonies such as these extended over Gaul, Germany, Spain and England, and throughout various parts of Asia and Africa.

Of the extent of territory occupied by these colonies, it is difficult to form an idea: from the foundation of the city to the death of Augustus, 164 colonies had been settled in Italy, and 199 in the provinces. Augustus himself planted twenty-eight colonies in Italy. But the first foreign,

* Seneca, at his death, had, it is said, £600,000 sterling due to him from colonists in Britain.

† Seneca assigns the following reasons for the formation of colonies by the ancients:—"Non omnibus eadem causa relinquendi quærendique patriam fuit. Alios excidia urbium suarum, hostilibus armis elapsos, in aliena, spoliatis suis, expulerunt; alios domestica seditio submovit: alios nimia superfluentis populi frequentia, ad exonorandas vires, emisit: alios pestilentia, aut frequens terrarum hiatus, aut aliqua intoleranda infelicitis soli eiecerunt: quosdam fertilis oræ fama corruptit: alios alia causa excivit domibus suis."—*Consol. ad Helvium*, c. 6.

or transmarine colony attempted was A. U. C. 710, when Julius Cæsar formed a plan for rebuilding the deserted city of Carthage.*

Fifty-seven colonies were established in Africa, exclusive of Egypt, twenty-five in Spain, four in Dacia and five in Britain. At the period of the greatest extension of the Roman world, namely, during the reign of Claudius, the empire was supposed to contain 126,000,000 of people; but of these, the slaves were at least equal to, if not more numerous than the free inhabitants. Very many of the Roman citizens possessed for ostentation 10 to 20,000 slaves; the price of each of which, in the camp of Lucullus, was 4 drachmas, = 3 shillings.

Included in this census, and numbered among the colonies, were the free states, which, through fear, or in hope of some ulterior advantage, attached themselves to the Roman empire; but, although the alliance was at first nominal, many sunk into a degrading servitude to the ministers of the Roman senate, whose policy was never to grant to a dependency the full rights of a Roman citizen. The limited extension of the rights of Roman citizens to those colonies that formed part of the empire is shown by the following censuses of the imperial city for upwards of 500 years, during which period many colonies had been formed.

Before Christ, 566, citizens 84, 700; B.C. 507, citizens 130,000; B.C. 497, citizens 150,700; B.C. 476, citizens 103,000; B.C. 387, citizens 152,583; B.C. 294, citizens 270,000; B.C. 265, citizens 292,226; B.C. 252, citizens 297,897; B.C. 247, citizens 251,212; B.C. 220, citizens 270,213; B.C. 192, citizens 243,704; B.C. 179, citizens 273,244; B.C. 169, citizens 212,805; B.C. 161, citizens 327,032; B.C. 147, citizens 322,000; B.C. 69, citizens 450,000; B.C. 50, citizens 320,000; B.C. 29, citizens 4,101,017; and in the year 8 B.C. during the reign of Augustus, 4,233,000 citizens.

The colonies sent out by the senate were composed either of Roman or Latin citizens. The *Coloniæ Romanæ* enjoyed only to a limited extent the *jus Romanum*: they were not permitted to exercise the right of suffrage, and the dignity of magistracies, of military commands, etc. were denied to them: they were permitted solely the *jus quiritorium*, namely, personal liberty, honors of gentility, dignity of family, etc.—and they were compelled to furnish such contributions as the senate and emperors chose to demand.

The *coloniæ Latinæ* possessed rights and privileges of their own; were empowered, to a certain extent, to form their own laws; and whoever became an edile or prætor in a Latin town enjoyed *ex-officio* the rank of a Roman citizen: but these Latin colonies had also to furnish tribute to the parent state. Their rights were styled *jus Latii*. It was not until after the Servile war, that the privileges of Roman citizens were granted by the *lex Julia* to all the Latin colonies, which will account for the rapid increase in the Roman census between 50 and 29 B. C. as shown above.

According to Ulpian, there were other colonies possessing little more

* It is recorded that Julius Cæsar removed to the colonies 80,000 citizens, without giving them the privileges of the Italian colonies.

than the name, and whose privileges were comprised in the *jus Italicum*: they were free from the taxes and tributes paid by the *coloniæ Latinæ* and *Romanæ*. Such, it is said, were the colonies of Tyre, Berytus, Heliopolis, Palmyra, etc.

Most of the colonies furnished quotas of troops for the Roman legions, the natives of each colony being drafted into regiments, serving in distant settlements.

As the Carthaginians looked on their colonies solely with a view to commercial advantages, so the Romans considered them valuable in a military capacity, outposts for the protection of the imperial city; defraying the cost of incessant warfare; furnishing annual tributes; providing rewards for those who had distinguished themselves by their military prowess; and for satisfying the wants of clamorous and discontented citizens, who complained of the unequal operations of the Agrarian law: and so few were the benefits conferred by the conquerors, and so little were they under moral or religious restraint, that forty years after the conquest of Asia, according to Plutarch and Dion Cassius, 150,000 Roman citizens were massacred in one day by the order of Mithridates; an event evidently owing to the rapacity and tyranny of the rulers. And, after more than 400 years' occupation of England, except in their roads (which were made for the more complete subjugation of the islanders) we find little or no traces of their rule.

Political selfishness was the predominating feeling of the Romans; colonies were founded, and dominion extended for no great moral or useful purpose. The colonies, as they grew in power, threw off the yoke of their military tyrants: there was no binding link to connect distant parts of the empire; and centuries of conquest, slavery and crime were terminated by the complete destruction of the "mistress of the world."

The breaking up of the Greek and Roman empires was followed by the individual sovereignty of some of their colonies. Venice, by her possessions in Greece and in the Ionian and Ægean Seas, was enabled to maintain her freedom for many years, to rise into commercial opulence, and to be "Europe's bulwark 'gainst the Ottomite."

Having thus briefly traced the progress of colonization among the states of antiquity, we may proceed to examine that important epoch in the history of mankind, when the knowledge of the mariner's compass (the prelude to maritime commerce) led to the discovery of a western continent, and the navigation by the Cape of Good Hope; enlarged the ideas, and aroused the dormant faculties of the Saxon race, who now exercise such a predominating influence over other parts of the world, and whose descendants will probably, in the course of ages, people the whole habitable globe.

Heretofore all trade had been carried on by land, or by frail vessels skirting the coasts of adjacent shores, crossing from island to island by circuitous, hazardous, tedious and expensive routes. Now, however, the trackless ocean became the high road of daring navigators, the distant parts of the earth were brought comparatively into close communication; with the acquisition of new and useful foreign products, wants

multiplied wants, and from this era of colonization may be dated the origin of maritime commerce, and the numerous beneficial results which have flowed from its progress and civilizing influence. The nautical skill and daring spirit of Prince Henry of Portugal was rewarded by the discovery of Madeira and Western Africa in the beginning of the fifteenth century. The politic and thrifty Henry VII. of England gave employment to navigators, in the hope of adding to his wealth, and extending his dominion.* But to the noble-minded Isabella of Spain, and the profound speculations and unwearied perseverance of Columbus, is Europe indebted for the knowledge of a new world. On the 11th of October, 1492, St. Salvador was discovered, and in the three subsequent voyages of Columbus, a trade was carried on in gold, etc., with various parts of America. Between 1508 and 1510, Cuba, Porto Rico and Jamaica were colonized. Mexico was conquered by Cortes between 1519 and 1521. Peru, Chili and Quito were added to the crown of Spain between 1529 and 1535, by Pizarro and his generals. In 1536 New Grenada was placed in subjection. In 1564 the Philippines were acquired, and from 1572 a regular intercourse maintained between Acapulco and Manilla.

The object of the Spaniards in the establishment of these colonies was neither that of the Egyptians, Grecians, Carthaginians, or Romans: the *auri sacra fames* overruled every consideration of humanity, of policy, or justice; the natives were worked to death in the mines, shot like wild beasts if they offered the slightest resistance to their merciless oppressors, or hunted with blood-hounds if they attempted to escape from the demons in human form who wantonly sported with their tortures.

Language would fail to convey an adequate idea of the atrocities perpetrated by the Spanish colonizers on the Indians, whose rapid extermination led to the introduction of Negroes from Africa. One series of crimes thus begat others, and that dreadful stain of slavery which has been cast on the professors of the Christian faith for three centuries will, it is to be hoped, prove a fearful beacon on all future occasions of colonization. That no blessing could result from such conduct, the present state of Spain exemplifies; while of her vast possessions in the Floridas, Mexico, Darien, Terra Firma, Buenos Ayres, Paraguay, Chili, Peru and California, she does not now possess an acre.

The Portuguese system of colonization originated in an adventurous maritime spirit, which led to the discovery of Maderia in 1419; of Cape Bojador, in 1439; of Cape de Verd, in 1446; the Azores, 1448; and the Cape de Verd Isles, and Sierra Leone, 1449.

In 1484 the Congo was visited, and the Cape of Good Hope discovered: in 1498, Vasco de Gama landed, 20th May, in Calicut, on the shores of Hindostan; and subsequently forts and settlements were established at Mozambique, Sofala, Melinda, etc., on the eastern shores of Africa; at Ormuz and Muscat, in the Persian Gulf; at Goa, Diu and Damaun, on the Malabar coast; at Negapatam and Meliapor, on the Coro-

* Maps and sea-charts were introduced into England in 1489.

mandel coast, and at Malacca. In 1500 Brazil was discovered; in 1511 the Spice Islands were colonized; about 1520 Ceylon was occupied; and in 1517 a trade was opened with the Chinese, and in 1542 with the Japanese. Although the hope of obtaining gold did, to a certain extent, encourage the progress of Portuguese discovery and colonization, yet it must be admitted, that the predominating feeling was a desire for adventure; a hope of attaining fame and honors from a patriotic sovereign; and in some degree a religious spirit, which prompted many to seek the conversion of the heathen, and to extend the faith of the cross. To the chivalry of the Portuguese character, at that period, must be added the nautical skill and commercial enterprise of the nation. Of this later quality, in particular, the Spaniards became exceedingly jealous; and on the union of Portugal with Spain, in 1589, the colonies of the former were quite neglected in favour of the latter; the policy of Spain being to confine the trade of the colonies to certain ports, and even to prohibit one colony trading with another. Seville was for a long time the only port in Spain with which colonies were allowed to hold intercourse.

Although a papal decree had divided the eastern and western worlds between the Portuguese and Spanish, a new competitor for dominion sprung into existence in consequence of the bigotry and tyranny of Spain. The Dutch, while struggling for independence, were the carriers to Lisbon from the colonies of Portugal, and were witnesses of the value of the colonial trade. In 1584, Philip II. prohibited the intercourse of the Dutch with Lisbon; these orders being evaded were renewed with greater strictness in 1549: and a number of Dutch vessels seized in the harbor of Lisbon, and destroyed. By these means the Dutch, instead of remaining carriers, were compelled to seek colonies for themselves. John de Witt urged his countrymen to get the start of England: declared that colonies were advantageous for men who had been unfortunate in trade; that they offered a field for exertion to men of abilities, and were a good substitute for hospitals and other charitable foundations. An association was soon formed to trade to "remote parts." The first expedition of four vessels sailed for India, 20th March, 1602. Batavia was established, 1618; a trade to Japan opened, 1611; a West India Company established, 1621; settlements formed and conquests made in Brazils, 1630 to 1640; Ceylon taken from the Portuguese, 1640; St. Eustatia, Curaçoa, Saba and St. Martin colonized, 1632 to 1649; and Surinam, Essequibo, Berbice and Paramaribo acquired, 1667. Other Dutch settlements were formed in Asia, on the African coasts,—and on the continent of North America, by an attention to commerce chiefly; and Holland soon rose superior, in maritime power and political consideration, to her former masters.

The Gallic nation was not an idle spectator of these contests for maritime supremacy. Francis I., with the ardor of an enterprising mind, encouraged maritime discovery; and the persecution of the Huguenots, under the reign of his successor, Henry II., aided the advancement of colonization. In 1552, Gaspard de Coligny, who had early embraced the reformed faith, was appointed Admiral of France; and, with the hope of rivalling every other power of Europe, projected a grand scheme of colo-

nization, extending from the St. Lawrence to the Mississippi. But these noble ideas were too far in advance of the age, and Coligny perished on the night of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. In the middle of the seventeenth century, Colbert, minister in the early and best part of the reign of Louis Quatorze, made great efforts for the extension of the French colonies; Martinique, Gaudaloupe, St. Lucia, Grenada, etc. were purchased from private individuals. In 1661, France possessed Canada, Nova Scotia, etc., and Louisiana; Cayenne was colonized in 1664; St. Domingo settled in 1697; Pondicherry in 1670, and the Isle of France and Bourbon, in 1720. The views of France, in the formation of these and other colonies, were not chiefly commerce, like the Dutch, nor territorial and maritime power, like the Portuguese; nor gold and ambition, like the Spaniards; they embraced all these in a more or less degree—and a proportionate stimulus was derived advantageous to colonial progress. The other Continental European nations made but little effort for the formation of colonies. A Danish East India Company was formed in 1618, and Tranquebar and some other small places acquired; in 1621 St. Thomas, in the West Indies; and subsequently, St. John and St. Cruz were obtained from France. A Danish West India Company was formed, but dissolved in 1764. Sweden made some attempts at colonization, and for a time disputed with the Dutch for the territory on the banks of the Delaware, where they confined themselves chiefly to husbandry; but in 1655, the Swedes and Finns resigned their claims to the Dutch, and retired. In 1731, a Swedish East India Company was established, and in 1784, St. Bartholomew, in the West Indies, was annexed to the crown of Sweden.

Italy alone, of all the maritime states of Europe, seems to have taken no part in this colonial crusade, probably owing to the breaking up of the Venetian power; and to the great change which the route round the Cape of Good Hope made in the commerce of Asia, which had heretofore arrived in Europe *via* the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. Venice also, probably, found that her own colonies in the Mediterranean and Ionian Seas required all her attention against the Turks.

If Spain, Portugal, Holland, France, Denmark, Sweden and Italy deemed the possession of colonies and the extension of maritime commerce essential to their prosperity, how much more must England have done so, by reason of her insular position, her growing marine, and increasing manufactures. Fortunately, there was at that eventful period a monarch on the throne of England, who had the rare power of discerning the future, and the faculty of providing for coming events. Elizabeth clearly foresaw, that if England were to maintain a prominent position among the nations of Europe, she could only do so as a maritime power, the permanence of which depended on the acquisition, growth and culture of colonies. Encouragement and facilities were offered for the discovery of heretofore unknown regions, and the planting (as it was then termed) of new settlements. In 1591, English vessels found their way round the Cape of Good Hope; in 1660, the first East India Company's Charter was granted; and in 1606, the London and Plymouth

Companies were established; the former for the southern, and the latter for the northern half of the American continent.

In 1583, Newfoundland was acquired, and during the 17th century the following British colonies were founded in North America:—Virginia, 1607; New-York, 1614; Massachusetts, 1620; New-Hampshire, 1623; New-Jersey, 1624; Delaware, 1627; Maine, 1630; Maryland, 1633; Connecticut, 1635; Rhode Island, 1636; North Carolina, 1650; South Carolina, 1670; Pennsylvania, 1682. In 1623, Nova Scotia was settled, and in 1630, New-Brunswick. Various settlements were also made in the West Indies: the Bermudas, 1611; at St. Kitt's, 1623; Barbadoes, 1625; Nevis and the Bahamas, 1628; Antigua, 1632; Montserrat, 1632; Anguilla, 1650; Jamaica was taken from the Spaniards in 1655; and the Virgin Islands colonized in 1666. Establishments were formed on the West Coast of Africa, from 1630 to 1660; at St. Helena in 1650; and in Hudson's Bay in 1670. Bombay was acquired from the Portuguese in 1661, as a portion of the Infanta Catherine's portion on her marriage with Charles the Second. A presidency was named at Madras in 1653; and a factory erected at Calcutta in 1656.

At the beginning of the 18th century, (1704) Gibraltar was taken. During the middle of this century Cape Breton (1758), Canada (1759), Prince Edward Island (1763), the Falkland Isles (1765), and Tobago (1763) were captured; still later, St. Vincent (1783), Grenada (1783), Dominica (1783) and Trinidad (1797,) were taken from the French and Spanish. Penang was purchased in 1786; New South Wales established, 1787; Ceylon taken from the Dutch, 1796; and large accessions of territory were obtained by cession and conquest on the Peninsula of India,—particularly from Mysore, in 1799.

At the beginning of the 19th century, we acquired Malta and Gozo (1800); next Demarara, Essequibo and Berbice, 1803; then the Cape of Good Hope, 1806; Heligoland, 1807; Mauritius, 1810; the Ionian Islands, 1810—1814; Singapore, 1819; Malacca, 1825; Swan River, 1829; and South Australia, 1835.

Although somewhat later in the field of enterprise than the surrounding continental nations, we advanced with sure but certain strides in the obtainment of colonial dominion in different parts of the globe; the North American continent, and some of the West India Islands, at first engrossing public attention. In accordance with the national character, the useful rather than the showy and specious was the main object in view: agriculture was rightly judged to be the basis of a nation's wealth; and the fertility of the soil and a congenial climate induced large bands of adventurers to plant themselves on the shores of the North American continent. With the growth of maritime commerce and the discovery of tropical countries, arose a taste in Europe for foreign commodities; and hence the formation of sugar, and coffee and spice plantations, in the West Indies and other places. But agricultural industry, whether under the temperate or tropical zones, was not the only object contemplated; it was rightly judged, that to possess extra maritime products ourselves would call into employment, and retain in that employment, a large

amount of shipping ; that the cultivators of the colonies would, by their industry, acquire wealth, enabling them to consume the manufactures of wool, linen and iron, and that every item of colonial wealth became in the aggregate a portion of the riches of the kingdom. But in the acquisition of colonial dominions England was not solely influenced by these views ; in many instances it will be observed [see History of the British Colonies], that she had to struggle with France, Spain, Portugal, Holland, etc., and in the progress of war was compelled in self-defence to strip those nations of their colonies, as the only effectual means of weakening their power and of augmenting her own. It should also be stated, that political and religious differences at home led to the voluntary or compulsory expatriation of many individuals of free and powerful minds, who sought on the shores of a new world that civil and ecclesiastical liberty which they could not obtain in England. Thus proprietary governments were formed in North America and the West Indies, by the adherents of the monarchy or republic ; but, unlike the Greek settlements, allegiance was maintained and protection sought from the parent state.

This general view of the progress of colonial dominion by ancient and modern states, will be sufficient to sustain the proposition advanced in the commencement ; namely, that colonization is a principle inherent in our being, that it has been the means by which the earth has been peopled and cultivated, and that, however diverse may have been the motives which prompted men to disperse themselves over various countries, the original decree of Heaven is in course of fulfilment.

ARTICLE V.

PRESENT POSITION AND FUTURE PROSPECTS OF ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

WE agree with the writer of the following brief and graphic article, in his views of the importance to be attached to the position and prospects of England. Her political, commercial and social relations, and the possible, if not probable exercise of her political power, her moral and religious influence, to promote the civilization and conversion of the world, are subjects of the deepest interest to mankind. The points of responsibility, which are here urged upon the British nation, are such as ought to be distinctly realized by her statesmen and rulers, and her enlightened citizens. But when the writer speaks of the *Anglo-Saxon race*, and the prospective spread of its influence over the whole world, he should not have seemed to forget that England and her colonies are not the sole representatives of that race. The position and prospects of our own republic are scarcely less important than those of the mother country. Tracing our origin to the same ancestry, professing the same

religion, with a civilization equally advanced, and a government, as we judge, even better adapted than that of England, to promote the universal spread of knowledge and Christianity, we cannot fail to perceive that to us belongs no inconsiderable portion of the responsibilities which devolve on the race to which this appeal is addressed. So far, then, as it may be separated from its special application to the political and commercial relations of England, we would appropriate it to our American readers, and urge upon them the cheerful hopes and the solemn obligations which it inculcates. SR. ED.

From the Colonial Magazine.

THERE is no subject of more momentous interest to every civilized nation, than an inquiry into the *present position of England*; there is no topic of higher importance (socially speaking) to the whole family of man, than an endeavor to ascertain the *future prospects of England*.

One of the most prevalent existing opinions is, that England has witnessed the acme of her power, and, having passed the meridian, now hastens to decay. This inference is erroneously drawn, from observing, 1st, that individuals of the animal and vegetable kingdoms have their periods of youth, age and death;* and, 2d, that all the great nations of antiquity have perished, leaving scarcely a vestige of their name; the antiquary with difficulty tracing the spot on which the metropolitan cities of vast empires once stood.

But the inference is unsubstantiated in its premises, and not fairly supported in its conclusions. Examine one of the primeval forests of America—it has existed there for ages; its limits, defined from the adjacent prairie by a broad and clear savanna, on which not a shrub is seen. True, the individual trees of the forest perish, but their place is immediately filled up; ages roll on—tree succeeds to tree—the forest never becomes the prairie—and at the end of centuries is found in all its beauty, denseness and vigor. The same principle is applicable to herds of animals, and to congregated masses of our fellow-creatures. Thus, also, is it with a nation: individuals die—the nation lives, and will continue to flourish for ages, so long as the elements of moral disease are subdued by virtue. The analogy, therefore, between the existence of an individual of a species, and the aggregate of a nation, is incorrect; so also is the conclusion drawn from the supposed analogy.

Empires, kingdoms and republics have arisen from infancy to maturity, and then perished. No form of government, whether that of absolutism or democracy, has been found sufficient to save a nation from final extinction; the seeds of dissolution were sown at birth, and were evolved when

* "The world, like the individual, flourishes in youth, rises to strength in manhood, falls into decay in age; and the ruins of an empire are like the decrepit frame of an individual, except that they have some tints of beauty which nature bestows on them."—*Consolations in Travel, Dialogue I.* by Sir Humphrey Davy.

the physical and intellectual structure began to wane. Babylon and Nineveh—Egypt and Jerusalem—Tyre and Carthage—Athens and Rome—have all in succession risen from insignificance to power, and then vanished like the “baseless fabric of a vision;” leaving scarcely a “wreck behind.” But because these memorials and records of *mere human greatness* are before us, does it necessarily follow that all nations must also have their rise and fall? Sacred Writ most fully informs us of the cause of the destruction of kingdoms—the people forsook the worship of the only true God, became idolaters, and were consequently destroyed by the very effect of their own vices and crimes. If Jerusalem, once the ark of a pure religion on earth, was destroyed, as oft foretold by the prophets, when the measure of its iniquity was full, is it reasonable to infer that any heathen nation could long uphold mere temporal power? Rome, the mistress of the world, debased by the grossest idolatry, demoralized by the most fearful extent of slavery, corrupted by wealth, devoid of even the semblance of morality, could no more expect perpetuity, than that city which was once the temple of the chosen people of heaven.

As a wicked man is frequently cut short in his career of crime, so was the fall of Jerusalem and of Rome; both were alike the persecutors of Christianity and the enemies of truth. The downfall of Jerusalem was essential to the spread of moral freedom; that of Rome, to the extension of civil liberty. Natural causes, therefore, produce natural effects, as regards a man or a nation; and when we find a nation running on in a career of vice and infidelity, we can no more be surprised at its destruction, than at the death of a man who has drunk deep of the cup of sin and wickedness.

Let us examine, if there be any resemblance between Rome and Britain.—The one a constitutional free state—the other a military empire, where the sovereign power was sold to the highest bidder;—the one a nation where all are personally free—the other, where nine-tenths of the people were bondsmen, serfs and slaves;—the one an insular maritime power, whose colonial possessions serve to augment its resources, and to increase its oceanic supremacy—the other a territorial state, whose very extension of dominion served but to weaken its strength, and to diminish its capability for defence;—the one enjoying all the arts and elegancies which adorn and refine social life, traversing land and sea with a celerity and certainty hitherto unknown, and using its wealth in the construction of immense works, which tend to benefit mankind—the other restricted chiefly in its mental efforts to architecture and the showy and specious arts, making war its chief object, and destitute of that extraordinary instrument for the extension of knowledge—the press. Finally—the one a *Christian*, the other a *Heathen* people.

No man of a reflective mind would struggle to advance and elevate his country, if he thought that he were hastening the period of its ultimate declension and death. The glory of a nation would then be similar to the fleeting fame of a selfish individual, both transient, useless to their possessors, and incapable of transmission to posterity. He who loves his country for the sake of the good which she accomplishes, and by reason

of her Christian principles, will not, cannot think that the meridian of her existence is passed, while there is aught of good to be fulfilled, and while Christianity exists on earth. Most certain is it, that a nation without true religion is like a house built on the sand, which the winds and waves destroy; and if England be that house constructed on a rock—which Revelation predicts—then may she defy the tempest, and the not less sure but more insidious effects of time.

We may now briefly advert to the present state of the British Empire. It is certainly one of peril, and fraught with imminent danger; but still not without a bright and clear vista. The domestic condition of England, Ireland and Scotland betokens the struggles of an industrious people to raise themselves from poverty, and to provide for those who are to succeed them. We behold a denser population in proportion to the soil, than is to be found in the aggregate in any other nation; in some parts 300 mouths to the square mile. We see that soil entirely preoccupied, and brought to a high pitch of cultivation by the accumulated capital of centuries, yet year by year less capable of producing an adequate supply of food, to meet the demands of a rapidly augmenting population. Steam-machinery—that efficient instrument for raising man from the condition of a mere beast of burden—while it lowers the price of labor, lessens the number of laborers required; and if brought successfully into use in agriculture, it will tend still more to cause the evils of a redundant population to be more and more severely felt. With this reduction in the means of employment, and in the wages of industry, we find an increasing aptitude for intellectual and social enjoyments, and an unwillingness to submit to physical suffering and privations, which were heretofore silently borne.

The recent extension of political rights has left a large mass of the people dissatisfied, because they find themselves precluded from the exercise of those immunities to which they look—as a means to an end—namely, the benefitting of their social condition. Extreme democratic opinions are, therefore, rashly advocated, and the balance of a constitution, which it has been the efforts of ages to keep equipoised, is in danger of final overthrow; the sword of physical power being, in fact, ready to be cast into the scale; while education, in itself a blessing if accompanied with religious instruction, will but lead to further desire for change, unless food, raiment, and an abundance of all the necessities of life become easier of attainment.

Let us now glance at the condition of the transmarine provinces of the empire: where do we find peace and contentment? It was the sarcastic remark of a nobleman who filled, within the last few years, the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, that the "*only Colony in tranquillity was Heligoland!*" The condition of our Colonial possessions, as well as that of our domestic state, is not the result merely of yesterday, but the sequence of causes some of which are of long standing, and the effects of which, though often predicted, have always been neglected.

The unfriendly bearing of our foreign relations is what may naturally be expected from rivals jealous of our political power—thirsting for our territorial wealth, and desirous of enriching themselves at our ex-

pense. There is not a kingdom in Europe, nor a republic in America, in actual friendly alliance with us; and were a general war to occur, England would not possess an ally, unless self-interest prompted a co-operation. Many, indeed, of the continental nations would rejoice in the destruction of the British Empire, as if they expected to rise on its ruins.

In the midst of these surrounding perils, we see no efforts made by genius and wisdom, to avert impending evils; temporary expedients are resorted to, and the energy and abilities of the country are wasted on acrimonious strife, and directed to no grand or definite principle for the preservation of the social edifice, and the maintenance of the integrity of the empire.

Yet, however gloomy may be the present, there is no real cause of alarm for the future; from the very nettle danger, we may pluck the flower safety; and out of the destructive elements around, we may gather the means of advancing, securing and establishing our power for ages. It is true that we are endeavoring to pay in gold, at £3 17s. 10½d. an ounce, a debt of £800,000,000 contracted in a depreciated paper currency; and that £30,000,000 of annual taxes are required to pay simply the interest of that debt, without the accumulation of any sinking-fund towards its final liquidation. But the property in the United Kingdom is almost incalculable. That of land alone is estimated at *two thousand million sterling*! England is not, therefore, insolvent; and whenever an able financier chooses to grapple with this vital subject, there are ample means for its adjustment.

Of the 28,000,000 inhabitants in the United Kingdom, nearly 20,000,000 are unfortunately living from "hand to mouth," by precarious labor, and scantily supplied with the necessities of life. Yet this very abundance of labor may be rendered of the utmost value, were there perfect freedom of commerce, and no monopoly of the money which legitimately represents trade; in other words, were there equal laws of freedom for the transfer of commodities, and of their representative value. This great reform is now in process of accomplishment by the joint-stock system of banking, by means of which, if gradually and cautiously brought into operation, trade will be saved from future panics, and the country from ruinous vicissitudes in its monetary affairs. Thus, steadiness of employment, and remunerative prices will raise the value of property and spread plenty throughout the land; and when 20,000,000 of now half-fed, ill-clad and imperfectly educated beings shall have been raised in the social scale, we shall daily find fresh sources of employment, and means will be multiplied for deriving the full benefits of the industry of intelligent and morally disposed millions.

But if we turn from the vast resources which England, Ireland and Scotland possess in the fertility of the soil, and the highly civilized condition of the country; in the coal, iron, copper, lead and tin beneath its surface, and in the productive fisheries around our shores; if, while not overlooking these and many other elements of wealth and power, we view the transmarine possessions of the empire, "wide as the poles asunder;" under nearly every parallel of latitude, and beneath almost every

meridian of longitude, we behold myriads of human beings, of every creed, color and clime, and an incalculable immensity of every thing that can tend to promote individual comfort and social prosperity.

Do we require corn, whether wheat, barley, oats, maize, or rice? The vast plains of the Canadas, of Australia and of India offer an inexhaustible supply, independent of foreign countries, and of the casualty of adverse seasons. Every species of timber may be obtained from our American and Asiatic possessions. The widely expanded downs of Austral-Asia, now covered with flocks of sheep, are becoming the wool country of the world. In the West and East Indies we have the means of supplying sugar, coffee, tea, cocoa, spices, etc. for all Europe.

Cotton, flax, silk, indigo and dye-stuffs are ready in limitless quantities, and at the cheapest rate. Tobacco, gums, hides, ivory, furs, etc. are among the staples of our African possessions: fruits, oil, wines and spirits are obtainable in the colonies of Europe, as also in those of the southern hemisphere. India teems with gold, iron, copper, lead and coal; and in almost every settlement the grand adjuncts of commerce, coal and iron, abound.

We dwell not at this moment on the innumerable advantages which our colonies present: we advert briefly to them, merely to indicate the riches that are at our doors, if we will but wisely use them, and thus advance the happiness of mankind. With such unmined wealth—with such untasted abundance—it is folly, nay, it is wickedness, to talk of England's decay; she is but in the morning of her existence, bursting into light, and betokening a golden harvest, not only for those of her own race and lineage, but for all who desire the inappreciable blessings of a Christianized civilization.

And this brings us to a consideration of the hostility of continental Europe. What has France, or Spain, or Portugal to gain by the downfall of England? Do they think that constitutional freedom would be more secure against the encroachments of northern Europe, were the freest and most powerful kingdom on earth destroyed? Were there even no Autocrat to threaten the people of the south and west with swarms of Cossacks, Portugal would soon become an appanage of Spain, and Spain, in turn, would be added to the sovereignty of France, until the Gallic nation, incapable of maintaining so great a territorial dominion, would split into petty republics or oligarchies, and civilization would retrograde far more rapidly than it has advanced. On the other hand, would the despotic states of northern and eastern Europe long withstand the onward rush of a crusade for political liberty, if England were not at hand to check the misguided zeal of rash theorists for freedom? The determined enthusiasm of Germany, and the reckless courage of Poland would afford the means for kindling the flames of foreign and civil war in Russia, Austria and Prussia. There is no longer a Holy Alliance in existence, to band nations together in self-defence for some common purpose: the balance of power among the different sovereignties of Europe is becoming daily less and less effective for the preservation of the rights of each: and if peace is to be preserved in Europe, and that

war of opinion, which Canning predicted, is to be avoided, it must be by England preserving her puissance, and acting as the arbitress of the destinies of mankind.

In the confederacy of nations, as well as among the constituency of a kingdom, there must be some chief acknowledged, for the better upholding of the rights and privileges of each. To which of the nations of Europe can that power be more safely intrusted than to England? She belongs to Europe, although not on its continent; she forms a part of the family compact of nations, yet has no personal interest in the connection. Were the whole of Europe instantaneously engulfed by an earthquake, England would be no loser, territorially, commercially, or socially. But it is for the honor and advantage of England that Europe should be in peace—that its sovereigns and governments should, by every possible means, extend freedom, knowledge and commerce. She has a common interest in the welfare of Europe, as it contains the most civilized portion of the human race; but she can have no views adverse to the internal prosperity of France, Spain, Portugal, Austria, Russia, Prussia, etc.

England can never become a great continental power: even if it were possible, the attainment of such a position would be foreign to her objects and interests: her dominion is on the ocean,—with her fleets and colonies she can command and control, as she has done before, the coasts and commerce of all who may proclaim themselves her enemies. But in no instance has England ever waged an offensive war in Europe; whenever she has been provoked into contests, it has either been for the maintenance of her principles, or in self-defence. France may desire to extend her boundaries to the Rhine, Spain to reannex Portugal to the ancient thrones of Castile and Arragon: Austria avariciously grasps Italy; Russia daily augments her territories from the dislocated provinces of Turkey; but England seeks nothing in Europe. Whatever may be the extent of her acquisitions in other parts of the globe, the white nations have assuredly no reason to fear an encroachment on their territories and rights; and, by the extension of her colonies among the dark-colored races of the tropics, she is cheapening the luxuries of life, and enabling all Europe to profit by her exertions.

Nations should be above the petty jealousies of shopkeepers in provincial towns. The merchant, of an expansive and just mind, feels that it is for his interest to have rich and enterprising neighbors, whether at home or abroad. Thus also it is with kingdoms: whatever improvement England produces in the manufacture of cotton, silk, wool, etc., or in the preparation of machinery, Europe soon feels the benefit of her skill and capital, and, without the previous labor and expense, derives the full measure of advantage from her insular neighbor.

We have thus shown that there is no just ground for the hostility which the continental powers have expressed towards England; and our future pages will develop how little England has to dread from the united hostility of every nation of Europe, were it possible for them all to combine against her. Foreigners never comprehend sufficiently our

social state, or internal resources. If, by any madness, England were to be plunged into war, party feeling would soon subside, and the energies of this mighty country would be put forth with tremendous effect. We should, as before, strip every hostile nation of their colonies, sweep the seas of their vessels, and blockade their coasts. Autocrats or despotic sovereigns would soon find that their domestic condition would not be favorable to the maintenance of their present power; and that which would but consolidate our internal strength, would, if necessity required it, be made an instrument for breaking their rule.

We desire not to dwell on this subject, and have not the least intention of using minatory language; on the contrary, we wish to prove that it is the interest of every nation in Europe to be at peace with England, that it is for their direct personal good that she should maintain her colonial power and oceanic supremacy; and when we come to discuss, at a future period, our political and commercial relations with our European brethren, we shall endeavor to show how little England has to fear or to care for the hostility or friendship of her continental neighbors, apart from those general considerations which we trust will ever sway a Christian kingdom.

There will arise so many occasions for an examination of each and all the points adverted to, and for a minute inquiry into the basis of our structure, as the oldest kingdom on the earth, that we pass on to shadow forth a brief vaticination of the future prospects of England.

Two proceedings, now in their infancy, are destined to exercise a most important influence on the future condition of this empire: the one is, the stream of emigration in the direction of the Southern pole; the other, the flow of our commerce towards the Eastern hemisphere; the one containing millions of acres, in a genial clime, ready for the plough; the other, myriads of comparatively civilized men, ready to supply in exchange for our manufactures, all the valuable and varied products of the tropics. These two circumstances, in connection with a sound monetary and fiscal system at home, will make England young again, with all the wisdom of mature age, and all the benefits of advancing science and accumulated capital. There will thus be a new spring to her existence; whatever she has before accomplished will be trifling compared to her future efforts; and with 28,000,000 of free, educated, industrious and religious inhabitants at home, this small island in the German Ocean, will hold complete sway over the entire Eastern world.

Nor will the Western or American hemisphere be neglected; our possessions in the Northern and Southern portions of that continent, on its Atlantic and Pacific coasts; and the rich islands of its tropical seas, under the stimulus of personal freedom and constitutional liberty, will yet add materially to our resources, population and power; and when the immense advantages of the vast countries watered by the Orinoco and Amazon are developed, England will be prepared to participate in their enjoyment.

While our native land is intersected with railways, the wide ocean will be traversed by our steam-vessels, reducing the distance of months to

weeks, and connecting by our floating bridges the continents of both hemispheres. Sooner or later, the Anglo-Saxon language will become the universal medium for communication between foreign nations, and thus give to England a perpetual presence and identification with those who now perhaps deem themselves our rivals.

By the aid of machinery, physical toil will be lessened, man, in ceasing to be a machine, will become more and more an intellectual being, and, with a full perception of the duties as well as the enjoyments of life, political privileges may be gradually conceded, and the progress of society will be equal and happy.

England, even now, may claim the designation of the queen-mother of nations; by a just policy, the offspring of her loins will become the sinews of her strength, until, like the banyan-tree of the East, every fibre and shoot more and more effectually shields, upholds and adorns the parent stem.

Amidst the thousand million of human beings that now inhabit this earth (independent of the myriads it is still capable of containing), there cannot be one uninterested in the future progress of England, if England act up to the Christian principles which are the foundation of her religion. Those principles are the preservation of peace, the liberation of the slave, the judicious extension of rational freedom, and the permanent establishment of Christianity.

It was doubtless for these great and holy objects that this small island has been permitted to rise from a barbarian colony of heathen Rome, where her children were sold as slaves, to her present exalted state; and if she be but true to the dictates of that divine creed which has been revealed to man for his temporal as well as spiritual welfare, we cannot contemplate an end to her power, nor a boundary to her happiness.

It is not, therefore, for the sake of the small territorial speck called Britain, that we seek the extension and the permanence of her supremacy; it is because we believe that the destinies of mankind are intimately blended with her weal or wo, and that an awful responsibility rests upon the course which, in the exercise of a free agency, she may for the future pursue.

Cheerfully do we confess, that we feel no gloomy forebodings; there are within even this small island too many good Christians to suffer despair to creep with its noisome weeds around the heart; we believe that the salt of the earth is in Britain, and that it contains the little leaven which will yet leaven the entire mass of mankind—among whom our revered ministers are everywhere spreading the light of a pure gospel, and preaching its comforts and blessings in every known tongue.

ARTICLE VI.

ICELANDIC LITERATURE:—EGILL'S SAGA.

Translated from the Danish abstract in Prof. Müller's Sagabibliothek.

By Elihu Burritt, Worcester, Mass.

THE biography of no Icelfander embraces more of the history of other countries, than that of Egill. It begins with his grandfather, Quelduif, a powerful man in Halogaland, who had betaken himself to repose, when Harold Haarfager began his wars. Quelduif would not take any part with the petty sovereigns of the country against King Harold, as he doubted the issue; neither was he afterwards willing to visit the king or to receive any fief or estate from him. But when his brother-in-law, Aulver Hnufa, the third man among Harold's principal bards, represented how dangerous it would be for him to displease the king, he finally consented, though he presaged evil, that his eldest son Thorolf might go. Thorolf was well received by Harold, and distinguished in the battle of Hafursfiord, where he was the king's boatswain. At his marriage with a rich widow in Halogaland, whose mortally wounded husband, with the king's consent, had made Egill an heir both to his wealth and his wife, he was appointed fief-holder, or feudatory, and commissioned to receive the tribute money from the Fins, and was the only one authorized to deal with them. Thorolf now became a rich and powerful man. He visited the Fins with a hundred men in his train; whereas former collectors had gone thither with only thirty. Also when king Harold paid him a visit with three hundred men, Thorolf received him with five hundred, and prepared splendid accommodations for the whole multitude. Harold was uneasy at the sight of so many armed men; but when Thorolf, at his departure, presented him with a ship of war, all equipped, he became pacified. But there were two men living in the neighborhood, the sons of Hilderide, who were envious of Thorolf; these so aspersed him before the king as to reawaken his distrust, upon which he commanded Thorolf to appear at court. This Thorolf refused. He surrendered his fief, and retired to his residence, still retaining, as before, a hundred freedmen in his service. To procure food for all these, he sent some of them to the herring fisheries, and some to catch haddock and seals, and to gather eggs. He also went on an expedition eastward of the Gulf of Finland, in company with King Faravid, where he obtained much booty. He thereupon laded a large ship with dried fish, hides and oil, and also costly furs, which he sent to England, and bought up there a valuable cargo of wheat, honey, wine and cloths. In the mean time, his old rivals had accused him of extorting tribute of the Fins with an armed force. The

king thereupon commanded his ship to be seized, and its rich lading confirmed his suspicions. Next summer Thorolf went on a cruise to the Baltic, and returning by the way of Denmark, he found himself among several Norwegian ships. He here found the opportunity to retaliate upon Harold by carrying off a ship laden with malt, wheat and honey for the king's own household. Thorolf was now declared an outlaw, and towards spring, while trying to leave the country, he was surprised by Harold and slain after a violent resistance.

Aulver Hnufa was desirous of mediating between the king and Thorolf's relatives; and when Harold promised to make a full indemnification, Thorolf's brother Grim, called *Skallagrim* on account of his bald head, made a journey to the king's palace. But Harold required that Grim should first enter his service, and when he was refused this, Harold became so enraged, that Aulver advised Grim to hasten away; and had he not rendered the boats in the harbor unavailable, Grim would have been pursued. There was nothing now left for Queldulf's race, but to seek the new land which Ingolf had discovered; but they first executed a bloody revenge upon some of the king's men and relatives. Queldulf died upon the voyage, but *Skallagrim* arrived at Borgfjord, and divided the land among his followers. He was himself an active man and a skilful smith.

The names of his sons were Thorolf and Egill. The latter, even in his third year, began to compose verses, and in his seventh, he slew a lad who had offended him while playing at ball. In his twelfth year he was stronger than most grown people; and when he thought, at a certain time, that his father had abused him, to revenge himself, he killed one of his father's dearest domestics. His brother Thorolf had become a hirdmand to King Erik Blodöx, and had followed him in an expedition to Biarmeland, where Erik had found his wife Gunhilde. When Thorolf, after a short stay with his father, again desired to sail to Norway, Egill compelled him to take him with him. In Norway, Egill visited one of the king's bailiff's, who gave them whey to drink, pleading as an excuse that he had no ale in the house, and advised his guests to retire to rest. The same evening, Erik with his wife came to perform sacred rites at the mansion, and immediately the most splendid banquet and the best liquors were set before them. The king desired that the strangers should be invited in. Egill now drank very freely, and satirized the bailiff in verse because he had treated them so slightly at first. The latter, upon this, mingled something poisonous in the horn which he handed to Egill; but the latter, cutting his finger, wrote magic runes upon the side of the horn in his own blood; whereupon the horn burst. He afterwards found an opportunity to kill the bailiff, and escaped, although with great difficulty.

In company with Thorolf, Egill went on a privateering expedition. They plundered in Courland, where Egill was captured by the inhabitants. But in the night he slipped loose, and, releasing his companions and a couple of Danish captives, he escaped to the ship with many goods. On the way, it occurred to him that he had acted more like

a thief than a sea-king. That this should not be said of him, he ran back to the house where the men of the place were engaged in drinking, and after having shouted his name to them, he slew them all with fire and sword. He next plundered Lund in Scania, and met with a good reception from Jarl Arnfid, and spent the winter with his friend Arinbiorn. King Erik suffered this, but Queen Gunhilde urged her relative, Eyvind Skreia, to attack the brothers. Eyvind missed them at a great sacrificial feast, but struck down one of their men. The king was obliged to discard Eyvind as one who had violated the freedom of the sanctuary. He also offered Thorolf a fine, but the latter would not accept of any thing. But next year, while Eyvind was coast-inspector for Harold Gormson, king of Denmark, he was attacked by the brothers, while he himself was watching for them, and was deprived of his ship. They next repaired to King Athelstan, in England, and assisted him against Oluf, king of Scotland; but in a great battle, where Athelstan gained the victory through their help, Thorolf fell. Athelstan gave Egill two chests of silver coin to be divided between his father and other relatives as a remuneration for his brother's fall, promising him great rewards if he would remain with him. But Egill made a voyage to Norway to marry his brother's widow, and afterwards returned home to Iceland, where he laid by for himself the English money.

When his wife's father died, his brother-in-law, Bergaunund, took possession of the whole inheritance. This induced Egill to make a new voyage to Norway. He prosecuted Bergaunund, who was defended by the king at the court of general jurisdiction. Arinbiorn followed him thither with a great company. In the middle of a large field, there were hazel stakes set round in a circle, upon which the sacred fillets were fastened. Within this circle sat the judges, twelve from Fjordefylke, twelve from Songnefylke, and twelve from Hordafylke; for these three districts were to decide upon every case. Bergaunund insisted that Egill's wife, being a bondwoman, could not inherit any thing; but Arinbiorn proved with twelve witnesses that her birth ought to be allowed as legitimate. As the judges were about to pronounce sentence, Queen Gunhilde, apprehending an unfavorable result, induced her relative, Bergaunund, to cut through the sacred bands, whereby the court was dissolved. Egill now challenged Bergaunund to a duel to decide who should be the heir, vowing hostility against any one who should interfere. King Erik was sorely enraged; but all were weaponless at the court, and when he afterwards pursued Egill, the latter stole away in a little boat, and slew a man upon the king's own ship.

Egill having now been declared an outlaw throughout all Norway, Arinbiorn provided him with a ship manned by 30 men. He sailed out to sea, but soon returned unexpectedly, in order to surprise Bergaunund, whom he slew, together with Ragnvald, the son of King Erick, who was in the vicinity at a drinking party. Before Egill sailed, he took a pole, and having fixed a horse's head upon it, he exclaimed while raising it: "I here raise this *craven pole*, and turn this abomination towards King Erick and Queen Gunhilde." Then turning the horse's head towards the

land, he said: "I turn this curse against the tutelary gods of the land, that it may make them all run wild, so that not one of them shall ever find its way home again until they have expelled King Erick and Gunhilde." He then planted the pole upon a hill-top, in the crevice of a rock, and there let it stand.

Egill reached Iceland in safety in 934, where his father Skjalgrím died, after having learned that Egill had retained possession of the English money, whom he repaid, just before his death, by concealing a treasure which he himself owned. Nothing was heard that summer from Norway, on account of the civil dissensions which laid an embargo upon all ships. Egill could not content himself with this quiet life; he therefore resolved to sail to King Athelstan, but was shipwrecked on the northern coast of England, where he heard that Erik Blóðox, who had been driven from Norway, had been invested by the English king with Northumberland, to defend it against the Scots, and that his camp was in the neighborhood. Egill saw how difficult it would be to escape, and not desiring to be caught in flight, he rode directly to the king's camp alone, and sought for Arinbiorn, who had left his property in Norway in order to follow the fugitive Erik. According to Arinbiorn's advice, he went to the king while he was sitting at the supper-table, and embracing his feet, told him in verse how he had braved many dangers to come to him and entreat a reconciliation. Erik replied that he must prepare himself to die, and Queen Gunhilde was urgent to have him executed immediately. But Arinbiorn represented to the king that it would be murder to execute one in the night; and it was finally granted that the execution of Egill might be deferred until the next day, while he should be placed under his own guard. Arinbiorn exhorted Egill, in the mean time, to compose a poem in honor of the king. He also brought him meat and ale, and sat up till midnight to drink with the guard. Before he laid off his clothes, he went to Egill, and inquired about the poem. Egill replied that he had not composed any thing; that a swallow had been sitting on the outside of the window, and twittering in such a way, that he had had no quiet. Arinbiorn went out in front of the window and saw a bird fly away; and he remained sitting there to prevent its return, until it was daylight, and Egill had got his poem ready. Both now went with a large company of armed men to the king, when Arinbiorn begged Erik, for his sake, to let Egill depart in peace; and when Gunhilde incited the king to refuse, Arinbiorn declared that he and his men would defend Egill to the last moment. This somewhat subdued the king, upon which Egill produced his poem. Erik now consented that he might go, as he had voluntarily put himself within his power, but told him he must never come again into his sight or that of his children.

Egill next repaired to King Athelstan, and sailed with his recommendation to Norway, to demand, under the just reign of Hagen Athelstan, his wife's property, which Bergaunund's brother Atle had taken into his possession. Hagen Athelstan forbade Egill to remain in Norway, but permitted him to bring his case before the court. On the way thither, he visited Arinbiorn's sister, whose young son Fridgeir had been summoned to meet in a

duel a powerful champion named Liotr the White, who had wooed Fridgeir's sister and had been rejected. Egill went into the combat instead of Fridgeir, and brought down Liotr. After he had delivered a summons to Atle in his own house, Egill arrived at court, and demanded his property. Atle tried to prove, on the oaths of twelve men, that he had nothing that belonged to Egill; but the latter, as was then the custom, challenged him to a duel. He who should be victorious was to inherit the property, and after the combat was to sacrifice an ox that was led to the place of battle. They fought long, until at last Egill ran upon Atle, and throwing him upon the ground, killed him by biting his throat; whereupon he seized the ox by the horns, and swung him about in the air with such violence as to break his neck-bone.

Egill next returned to Iceland, where he continued a few years, until he heard that Erik Blodöx was dead, and Arinbiorn had returned to Norway. He went over, therefore, to visit Arinbiorn, taking with him as a present the sail of a long-ship, curiously wrought, with many other valuable articles, for his friend. Egill, in return, received as a Yule gift from Arinbiorn, a silk mantle embroidered with gold, and set with gold buttons all the way down in front, besides an entire new dress of English cloth, which was much variegated, and upon which Egill composed a lay. After Yule, Egill became uneasy because he had not inherited any of the property of Liotr the White; for it was a law that he, who fell his opponent in a duel, should inherit his estate; but it was also provided that the king should be the heir of all foreigners who died in the land. The king's bailiff, therefore, immediately laid an attachment on Liotr's estate. Egill desired Arinbiorn's assistance to assert his claim; but the latter represented to him how difficult it would be to carry his suit through; "for," said he, "the entrance to the king's palace is wide, but the egress narrow." But when Egill, notwithstanding, was determined to try it, Arinbiorn made a journey for him to King Athelstan, who refused him with severity, as one who sought more to side with strangers than with his own king. Arinbiorn would not return soft words, but immediately went home, unlocked a chest, and taking out forty marks in silver, gave them to Egill for Liotr's lands, as a reward, he said, for his having saved the life of his sister's son. Egill received the money, and again became contented.

Towards spring, Arinbiorn went on a cruise, with three ships, each manned with a hundred men, mostly his own domestics. Egill commanded one of them, having with him a part of his own men, the rest being sent with his trading vessel to the south of Norway. After they had plundered in Saxland and Frisland, they were separated at Limfjord. Arinbiorn went to the sons of Erik, and Egill to Norway, to spend the winter with his and Arinbiorn's relative, Thorstein. When King Hagen Athelstan learned the news of Arinbiorn's expedition, he confiscated his property, and persecuted his relatives. He sent also a command to Thorstein, that he should either quit the land or go to Vermeland and demand the tribute money which Jarl Arnvid retained there. This was a dangerous undertaking; for of the former messengers none had returned.

Egill, however, undertook the journey; and after having surmounted many dangers, he brought the money, by which Thorstein was again taken into favor by the king. After this, Egill sailed back to Iceland.

Shortly after his return home, Egill lost a son, and soon afterwards his eldest son Baudvar. His father found his body upon the beach, and rode with it to Skallagrim's tomb, where he deposited it. Egill was dressed in breeches and a red coat narrow at the top and broad at the sides. He so spent blood that both his coat and breeches were saturated with it.—When he reached home, he repaired to his closet where he was accustomed to sleep, and having pushed to the bolt, no one ventured to speak to him. He there lay three days, and neither ate nor drank. On the third morning, his wife Asgerda sent one of the domestics to Hiardarholt, where Egill's favorite daughter Thorgerda resided, who was married to Oluf Paa. She arrived in the evening. When Asgerda asked her if she had eaten any supper, she replied with a loud voice: "I have eaten nothing, nor will I until I may do it with gladness." Thereupon she went to the closet, and called to her father to unlock it, saying: "I would that we might travel on the same road, father." Egill unlocked the door, and Thorgerda laid herself down on another bed.—"Thou dost well, my daughter," said Egill, "to desire to follow thy father. Thou hast shown me much kindness." "How could I survive such grief as this?" she replied. After a short silence, Egill said: "Art thou not eating something, my daughter?" "I am chewing a kind of sea-grass," answered she, to make me more sick, for I am afraid of living too long." "Is it then injurious to man?" "Very injurious," replied she, "wilt thou eat some of it?" "Why not?" he asked. A little while afterwards, she called for some drink, and some water was brought her. "It comes from eating this sea-moss," said Egill, "that we are more thirsty." "Wilt thou drink, father?" she asked. He took a horn and swallowed some of the drink. "We are deceived now!" said Thorgerda, "for it is milk." Upon this, Egill bit out a large piece from the horn, and cast it upon the floor. "What shall we do now?" said Thorgerda, "for our plan is frustrated. I think, father, that our lives are prolonged until thou shalt compose a lay on Baudvar, and I shall have it set to a stave." Egill said that he did not think that he was in a situation to compose, but he would try it. He now composed the song called *Sonar Torrek, the loss of a son*, in 24 stanzas. He grew stronger as he proceeded in the poem, and when it was finished, he brought it out to his family, and seating himself in his high seat, he commanded the *arveöl* to be drank over the dead, according to ancient custom. When Thorgerda returned home, he made her many valuable presents.

Egill lived many years after this, on friendly terms with his countrymen. When it was told him that the sons of Erik had arrived in Norway, and that Arinbiorn was again a mighty man, Egill composed a lay in his honor, and afterwards an elegiac poem on his death. The sons of Erik were soon subdued by Hagen Jarl, who was celebrated in a song by Einar

Skaaleglam, who was rewarded by Jarl with a shield, upon which were painted many ancient devices, and between the figures were set spangles of gold beset with stones. When Einar came to Iceland, he went to pay Egill a visit, but did not find him at home. When he had waited for him three days, and it was not according to etiquette to remain longer in a strange place, he hung up the costly shield upon the wall, and told the people that he left it as a present for Egill. When the latter came home, they told him of it. "Mean fellow!" said Egill, "does he suppose I will spend the night in making verses upon his shield! Bring me my horse! I will ride after him and slay him." But when they told him that Einar was already at a great distance, he became good-humored, and composed a song upon it, and cherished a friendship for Einar. * *

Egill's youngest son Thorstein became a good-looking and powerful man, yet not as strong as his father, who did not regard him with favor. When this son was about to set out for the general court, his mother took out the costly silk mantle which Egill had received of Arinbiorn, and lent it to Thorstein; but as it was too long for him, it trailed on the ground as he was going into court, and was soiled. Some time afterwards, when Egill unlocked his chest, he discovered it, and indited a lay upon it, in which he expressed his sorrow. When his wife died, he gave up his mansion to his son, and took up his residence with one Grim, who had married a favorite niece of his. He did not visit his son often; but when the latter had a difficult case in court, the old man rode thither with 80 armed men, and effected a decision in his favor. He took a notion to go to the judge's bench, and there scatter around him his English coins, so as to set the whole assembly fighting for them. As Grim would not permit this, he took out with him, early one morning, his two chests and two servants, and no one ever saw any thing of them afterwards. Soon after this Egill died.

THE EXPEDITIONS OF THE GREENLANDERS.

Translated from the Icelandic.

EDITORIAL EXPLANATIONS.

These expeditions of the Greenlanders took place in the *tenth* century. The discoveries which they describe are supposed to relate to this country; but how far south they proceeded along our Atlantic coast cannot now be certainly determined. It is supposed, with no little probability, that *Vinland* was as far south, at least, as Massachusetts, and that there the Northmen had landed long before the brilliant discoveries by Columbus. This subject has within a few years been brought before the American public through the publications of the "Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries," at Copenhagen, and particularly in their large work denominated *Antiquitates Americanae*, from which these translations have been made by Mr. Burritt. The reader will find satisfactory notices of this work in some of the back Nos. of the North American Review, and other popular Reviews, and in the American Biblical Repository for April, 1839, where the arguments in support of the "Ante-Columbian" discovery of this country are discussed.—SR. ED.

Bjarne Herjulfson came over from Greenland, and visited Erik Jarl, and Jarl gave him a good reception. Bjarne gave an account of his voyage, in which he said that he had discovered new lands; but people thought that it was somewhat curious that he could give no description of them; and this caused him considerable chagrin. Bjarne became Jarl's *hirdmand*, and the next summer sailed for Greenland. There was now much said about discovering lands. Leif, the son of Erik the Red, of Brattelid, went to see Bjarne Herjulfson, and bought his ship, and manned it with a crew of 35 men. Leif told his father Erik, that he alone should be the commander of the expedition. Erik excused himself, saying that he was now getting old, and was less able to sustain the dangers of the sea than formerly. But Leif insisting that it would insure his friends a better success, Erik consented, and rode home as soon as they were all ready, as it was a short way from the ship. The horse which Erik rode stumbled, and he fell off and bruised his foot. Erik thereupon exclaimed: "It is not destined for me to explore any other land than this which we inhabit; we must not all go together."

Erik returned home to Brattelid, but Leif repaired to the ship with his associates, 35 in number. They now got under way and sailed out to sea, and discovered the land which was last seen by Bjarne. They bore up to this land, and casting anchor, went on shore in a boat, but saw no herbage. It was all covered with large icebergs; but from the sea to these icebergs, it seemed like a plain of slate, and entirely barren. "It shall not be said of us," said Leif, "as of Bjarne, that we have not touched upon this land; for I will give it a name, and call it HELLULAND (*slate-land*). They embarked again, and putting out to sea, they discovered another country. They now made for this land, and having anchored, they pushed out in their boat and went ashore. This country was flat and covered with wood; and wherever they went there were tracts of white sand, and the coast was low. Then said Leif: "This country shall be called MARKLAND—on account of its character." They then returned immediately to their ship. They now sailed into the open sea with a northeast wind, and after being out all day and night, they hove in sight of a country for which they immediately made sail, and came to an island that lay to the north of the main land. Here they landed, and enjoyed a fine air, and found so much dew upon the grass, that they took it up in their hands and put it to their mouths, and thought they had never tasted any thing so sweet before. Returning to the ship, they sailed up the channel which lay between the island and the promontory which extended northerly from the main land, and stood off from the cape in a westerly direction. Here there was much dry ground during the ebb-tide, upon which their ship remained, and it was a great way to look from the ship to the sea. But such was their desire to get to the land that they could not wait for the tide to raise the ship, but ran ashore at a place where a river, from some lake, fell into the sea. When the water arose under the ship, they took their boats and rowed out to her and brought her into the river, and thence into the lake, where they cast anchor. They took from the ship their tent skins, and constructed tents; they afterwards concluded to remain there that winter, and built large houses.

There was no lack of salmon either in the lake or river, and they were larger than any they had seen before. The soil seemed so good that they thought cattle would not want any fodder through the winter; for there came no frosts in the winter, and the grass withered but little. The days and nights were more equal than in Greenland or Iceland; for the sun, in the shortest days, was above the horizon from half past seven A. M. to half past four P. M.

When they had completed their dwellings, Leif said to his companions: "I will now divide our company into two parts, and have the land explored. Half of the men shall stay at home, and the other half shall explore the country, but they shall not go so far but that they may reach home in the evening, so as not to be separated. They did this for some time. Leif also took his turn, and sometimes went out with them, and sometimes remained at home. Leif was a large and strong man, comely to look upon, prudent, and a good commander in all things.

It happened one evening, that they missed a man of their company, and it was Tyrker the German. This was a great grief to Leif, for Tyrker had lived a great while with his father, and was much attached to Leif in his childhood. Leif having now given his crew an earnest charge, prepared with twelve men to go in search of Tyrker. But when they had proceeded but a little way from their camp, Tyrker met them, and received a hearty welcome. Leif soon found that his foster-father was not in his usual mind. Tyrker had a sharp face, rolling eyes, slender features, was small in stature, but well skilled in all the arts. Leif said to him: "Why wert thou so late, my father? and why didst thou part with the company?" He at first talked a long while in German, and rolled his eyes around, and twisted his mouth, but they were not able to understand him. After a while, he said in the northern language: "I went but little farther than you, yet I have a new discovery to relate; I have found vines and grapes."—"Can that be true, my father?" said Leif. "It is certainly so," replied he; "for I was brought up where there was no lack of vines and grapes." They slept that night, but in the morning Leif said to his men: "Now there are two things to be done: we must gather grapes one day, and the other, cut up vines and fell timber to make a lading for my ship." This advice was followed, and it is said that their long-boat was filled with grapes. Having prepared their lading, they got under way in the spring and sailed for home. Leif called the country VINLAND, from its properties and productions. They sailed out into the open sea, and had a good wind until they hove in sight of Greenland and its icebergs. Then a man spoke to Leif and said: "Why dost thou steer the ship so much against the wind?" Leif replied: "I am careful about my steering, and especially now; for can you not see something yonder?" They told him that they saw nothing unusual. "I know not," said Leif, "whether it is a ship or a rock." They looked, and said it was a rock. He was so much more sharp-sighted than they that he saw men upon the rock. "Now I will," said he, "that we beat up against the wind, so as to approach them and see if they want us to come to them, and if they need our assistance; for if they are not friendly disposed, all the power is in our hands and not in theirs." They now sailed up under the rock, and taking in their sails

they cast anchor, and sent out a small boat which they had with them. Tyrker then inquired who was their commander. They replied that his name was Thorer, a Norwegian. "But what is thy name?" said they. Leif told them his name. "Art thou the son of Erik the Red?" said they. Leif replied that he was. "Now I will take you all on board my ship," said Leif, "and all the goods the ship can receive." They accepted this offer, and they all sailed thereupon into Eriksfiord as far as Brattelid, where they unladed the ship. Leif invited Thorer and his wife Gudrid, and three other men to live with him, and he also furnished lodgings for all the rest of the crew; both for his own men and those of Thorer. Leif took fifteen men from the rock, and was afterwards called Leif the Lucky. He had now won both respect and riches. An epidemic broke out among Thorer's men that winter, and Thorer and a large part of his men died. Erik the Red died also the same winter.

There was at this time much conversation about Leif's voyage to Vinland, and his brother Thorvald thought that the country had been too little explored. Leif thereupon said to Thorvald: "Thou shalt go with my ship to Vinland, if thou wilt; but I will first let it go and bring the stuff which Thorer had upon the rock." This was done.

THORVALD'S VOYAGE TO VINLAND.

Thorvald now prepared himself for the voyage with 30 men, according to the advice of Leif. When they were ready, they sailed out to sea, nor is there any account of their voyage until they arrived at *Leifsbooths*, in Vinland. They then secured their ship, and remained there that winter, and caught fish for their food. But in the spring, Thorvald directed that they should get the ship ready, and that the long-boat, with several men, should proceed along the western coast of the country, and explore the land during the summer. The country appeared beautiful and well wooded, and there was white sand in the short space between the woods and the sea. There were also many islands and shoals. They found the habitation of neither man nor beast, except on an island to the westward, where they found a wooden corn-house. They discovered no other works of man, and returned, and arrived at *Leifsbooths* in autumn. But the next summer Thorvald proceeded eastward in a merchant vessel, (*kaupskipit*) and went around the land on the north. There a great storm befell them off against a cape, upon which they were dashed until their keel was broken under their vessel. They remained here a long time, and repaired their vessel. Thorvald here said to his crew: "I will that we raise a keel upon this promontory, and call it Kjalarnes," (keel cape,) and they did this. They next sailed eastward along the coast, into the bays that lay nearest, and to a cape which extended out in that direction, and which was all covered with wood. They warped up their vessel to this, and fixing a bridge from the deck to the shore, Thorvald ascended the bank with all his men. "It is beautiful here," said he, "and I would like to make my dwelling here." While going to the ship,

they descried three hillocks upon the sand within the promontory. They went to them, and found three skin-canoes and three men under each of them. They divided out their company, and caught all of them except one, who escaped with his canoe. They killed the eight, and afterwards returned to the cape, and looking around, they saw several hillocks along the bay, which they concluded to be dwellings. There now came such a drowsiness over them that they could not keep awake, but all fell asleep. Then came such a cry over them as to start them all from their slumber. The voice cried: "Awake, Thorvald! and all thy followers, if thou wilt save thy life: go to thy ship with all thy men, and get out to sea immediately!" Then an innumerable multitude of canoes came out from the interior of the bay and bore down upon them. "We will bring out the war-screens to the ship's sides," said Thorvald, "and defend ourselves as well as possible, but not fight much with them." They did this, when the Skrælings, having shot at them for a while, took to flight, each as fast as he could. Thorvald asked his men if they had received any wounds; they replied that they had not. "I have received a wound under my arm," said he, "for an arrow flew between the deck and the screen, and hit me under the arm, and the arrow is here now, and it will be my death-wound. Now I advise you to prepare for your voyage and return as soon as possible; but you shall carry me first to the cape where it seemed to me so pleasant to dwell. It will be a true word that fell from my mouth when I said that I would fix my dwelling there. There shall you bury me, and set up a cross at the head and another at the foot of my grave, and the place shall be called Krossnes (*cross-cape*) forever." Greenland was christianized at that time, but Erik the Red had died before the introduction of Christianity. Thorvald died, and they performed all that he had said. They then returned to their companions, when they related to each other all that had happened. They remained there that winter, and laded their ship with grapes and vines. But in the spring they got under way, and sailed for Greenland, and brought their ship into Eriksfiord, where they had many important things to relate to Leif.

ARTICLE VII.

OLD ENGLISH SONGS AND BALLADS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE subject of the following article addresses itself so directly to the curiosity of the "universal Yankee nation," that we need make no apology for introducing it. Nor will it be found amusing only. It is instructive thus to travel back on the pathway of our still advancing civilization, and to contemplate the early and rude expressions of our language and literature. These were among the first steps of our rising from that period referred to in the article translated by Mr. Marsh, in our present number, when *England* and *Iceland* spoke one language; and in our endeavors, by way of selection—

"The letter'd grain from letter'd chaff to sift,"

we have found few topics better suited to awaken the interest of American readers, who are not already familiar with the subject.—SR. ED.

From the London Eclectic Review, Feb. 1841.

1. *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry*. By THOMAS PERCY, D. D., Bishop of Dromore. Templeman: 1840.
2. *The Political Songs of England*. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT. (Camden Society.)
3. *Reliquiæ Antiquæ, Scraps from Ancient MSS., illustrating chiefly early English Literature*. Edited by THOMAS WRIGHT and J. O. HALLIWELL. Nos. I. to VI. Pickering.

THERE are few persons, we think, who have made our early literature, or our antiquities their study, but have been led to it in the first instance by the attractions of those fragments of old verse, those snatches of wild and pleasant, though rude song, which still may be found in our remoter districts, or which meet us in our popular collections of ancient poetry. Nor is this surprising: ballad literature is emphatically the literature of the people. It must appeal, and appeal strongly to our common feelings, or uneducated, unsophisticated men would not have treasured it up to repeat to their children's children; and it must be true to the general character of the people, or amid the changes of our social system, and the progress of successive generations, it would have been wholly cast aside, like the out-of-date garment, or the disused weapon. But, then, while the passages which appeal to our common feelings still remain, much that is absolutely obsolete, by the very process of oral transmission, is lost; and the "ancient ballad" is after all but a modernized version of some older original.

Now this, which to the antiquary is the insuperable defect of ballad literature, becomes to the young reader its chief advantage. Unacquainted, or at most but superficially acquainted with the character of the middle ages, that character appears to him less strange, less startling in the modified form of the ballad, than it would do in the more genuine manuscript remains; thus he obtains a less abrupt introduction to the peculiarities of that period, and ballad literature has thus done the same good service to our early poets as that "pretty toy," Strawberry Hill, did to Gothic architecture. That amusing, and yet almost picturesque jumble of lancet windows, Tudor doorways, and battlements copied from the stern keep of some Norman castle frowning upon oriel and cloister, attracted the public eye, and conciliated the public taste, until at length an admiration for the pure Gothic in all its beautiful gradations arose.

What Horace Walpole did for Gothic architecture, Dr. Percy did for early English literature; and we feel that no common praise is due to that scholar, who, brought up in the "very straightest sect" of the classical school, could yet appreciate the simple beauty of genuine old English poetry; and who, in the very teeth of the prosaic dullness of the middle of the last century, could boldly challenge public attention to these reliques of an age past by. The honor which is due to the discoverer, too, belongs emphatically to Dr. Percy, for he was the precursor of all those who have labored so abundantly in the same field, and the collections of Ellis, Ritson, Weber and many others, as well as the two interesting works before us, may be traced to the impulse given to the literary world by the publication of these ballads.

* * * * *

Ballads, by which we would be understood to mean short stories intended to be sung, do not form a very numerous class in our literature if compared with those of the northern nations; nor, in despite of the eulogies pronounced on many of them by no less a judge than Sir Walter Scott himself, can we assign them a high poetical rank. Indeed, at a feast of the poets, we should place the ballad composer, on account of his merits, very nearly in the same chair, or (to speak more in character with the time) on the same bench, on which, in consequence of his low station in society, our forefathers would have placed him, not merely "below the salt," but among the grooms and falconers at the lower end of the table. It is not, however, astonishing, that an age which considered civilization as not having commenced until the restoration of Charles the Second, and that writers who characterized even the days of James the First—that era that witnessed alike the last and finest efforts of Shakspeare, and the first buddings of the genius of Milton—as "an age of little poetic refinement," should have smiled approvingly upon the homely ballad. The spirited English metrical romances were unknown to them; Gower was only recognized as a rhymester who had written a ponderous volume of unreadable verse; Chaucer, only known through the medium of coarse translations of some of his Canterbury Tales, in which, while every sin against taste and delicacy was carefully preserved, all those bursts of sweet poetry, all that power of painting a vivid scene in a few words, which places him in the foremost ranks of our poets,

were passed over, while the graceful productions of the Anglo-Norman trouvères, those poet-fathers of England, were reposing in oblivion undisturbed even by the most curious antiquary, in the presses of the Harleian, the Cotton and the Bodleian libraries.

It is to the lays and "romans" of these last that the reader must turn for the source of nearly all our popular ballads, which involve supernatural machinery. Without going further than the volume before us, the story of "Syr Cauline" meeting the Eldritch knight, and vanquishing him, is a close transcription of the chief incident in the "Lai de l'Épine," published by M. Roquefort in his "Poesies de Marie de France," and assigned by him, together with the lay of "Gruelan," to her. The story of the marriage of Sir Gawayne, too, has not only been told by Gower in his tale of "Florent," and by Chaucer in his wife of Bath's tale, who expressly assigns its origin to "these old gentil Bretons," but it will be found in the fabliaux lately published in France. "The Boy and the Mantle," which we should consider one of the most ancient of these reliques, in like manner is derived from an Anglo-Norman source, and by the trouvère himself, unquestionably either from Armorica or Wales, those two great birthplaces (if indeed they had not a common one) of romantic literature. The ballad of "the Boy and the Mantle" is worthy of notice, inasmuch as it affords a specimen of the different way in which the rude versifier told his story, to that in which the more polished trouvère said or sung his.

"On the third day of May," a young page, bearing a mantle enclosed in two nutshells, came to King Arthur, then keeping high court at Carlisle, and prayed that he might present it to that lady who had never done amiss either in deed or word. Queen Guenêver attempts to wear it, but it shrivels up, and she flies to her chamber overwhelmed with shame. Another and another tries this magic dress, but with the same result; at length Sir Cradock calls his lady—

And bade her come in,
Saith, Winne this mantle, ladye,
With little dinne;
Winne this mantle, ladye,
And it shall be thine,
If thou never didst amisse
Since thou wast mine.

Thus sings the rude versifier; but the same tale had already been told, in the fabliau of "Court-mantle," to the high and noble, and in this Sir Cradock addresses his lady in a manner more befitting the courteous character of the knight of the middle ages. We give the late Mr. Way's translation, for we could not supply a better.

Dear lady mine, he thus was heard to say,
If aught misgives thee, shun that baleful robe!
To see thy shame, to feel my love decay,
I would not bide for all this earthly globe.
Far better were it aye in doubt remain,
Than read the truth by such disastrous test,
Than see thee now thy sex's honor stain.

But the lady boldly challenges the test, and in the lay, as in the ballad, with triumphant success, the page exclaiming,

Now, lady fair! thy lover joy betide,
Thine be the pall who winn'st the victory;

while in the English version, the "little boy" applies the coarsest epithets in our language to the disappointed queen, in the very presence of her husband.

In the same ballad the little boy has a horn of "red gold," endowed with similar marvellous qualities; and this horn Sir Cradock bears away. This part of the story had, however, already been told by Robert Bikez, an English trouvère, and his description of the magic horn will show the superiority of the "lai" to the mere ballad. The original, which may be seen in Warton, is quite as flowing as the translation.

Many a jewel there was set,
Mid the gold wrought work yfette;
Beyrl, sardius fair to see,
And the choice chalcedony—
O! such a horn you ne'er might see!
By a ring of silver rare
Was it fastened; and around
Five score bells gave pleasant sound.
Bells of gold, right pure and fine—
For in the days of Constantine
A learned fairie, bold and wise,
Did this magic horn devise—
And whoe'er with finger free,
Touched that horn,—deliciously
Then these hundred bells would sound.
O! harp or viol ne'er was found
So sweet, nor voice of girls, nor she,
The famous siren of the sea,
Ne'er warbled half so witchingly.

We pass over the other ballads of a similar kind, nearly all of which may be traced to earlier, and far more poetic sources, as we may probably, in some future review, illustrate the tales of King Arthur, from the poems of those trouvères, whose very existence was unsuspected until the late Abbé de la Rue called the attention of the antiquarian world to them.

While, as we have remarked, England cannot boast a very large collection of ancient ballads, in one department she is very rich—that which may emphatically be called the popular ballad, because it celebrates the deeds of those heroes of the peasantry, those "village Hampdens," or those bold outlaws, who, in our early times, when might was often opposed to right, did battle manfully for the real or imagined privileges of the commons. Robin Hood is the type of the popular hero, just as King Arthur is the type of the heroes of chivalry; and it is curious to observe how the peculiar virtues of the chivalrous era are presented, though in fainter colors, and in a ruder guise, in the characteristics assigned to the gallant outlaw of Sherwood. The same determination to redress all grievances, the same "love for poor men," to which the knight pledged

himself at the foot of the altar; the same respect for woman, and the same heartfelt, though superstitious spirit of devotion are exemplified in the genuine old Robin Hood ballads, as in the Anglo-Norman or old English romances of chivalry. And then there are, from time to time, assertions of the dignity of the commons, shrewd hints that the peasant's strong arm may "do the state some service," or perhaps disservice; and that hearty assertion of the superiority of the English yeoman to the natives of every other country, which prove these rude ballads could only have sprung up among a people who viewed freedom as their birthright, and who, from the days of Cressy to Waterloo, have maintained unimpaired their national character of valor. In the conduct of this class of ballads, too, we perceive, by the easy and natural sequence of the incidents, that the writer (probably composer would be the more correct term, since we greatly doubt whether any of this class were originally written), was well acquainted with the scenes he describes, and probably with the personages; and thus we obtain a glimpse of society among that class which seldom appears on the page of history.

An admirable picture of life among the lower classes we thus obtain from the excellent old ballad of William of Cloudesley. In an evil hour he has fled to the wood with his two faithful companions, but he has left his wife and children in "merrie Carlisle," and he longs to revisit them.

Merrie it is in the grene forest,
Among the leves grene,

but William steals away, and knocks at "his own windowe," and when "fayre Alyce" lets him in, she informs him that search has been made for him "for half a yere and more," for he and his brethren had been "outlawed for venysoun," that bitter grievance of the yeomanry in the middle ages. Cloudesley, however, sits down merrily; but "an old wyfe," whom they had supported "of charyte for more than seven years,"—a characteristic trait of a period when there was no compulsory provision for the poor, but abundant private benevolence—steals out, and acquaints the sheriff. The gift bestowed on her, "a ryghte gode gowne," is also characteristic of the period when rewards were almost always given in the form of apparel, but that it was scarlet is certainly a modern interpolation, since that was always the color appropriated to nobility alone. The townsmen of "merrie Carlisle" now assemble, with a "fulle grete route," and endeavor to enter William's house, while Alice gallantly seizes a poleaxe to defend the door, and he bends "a righte gode bowe," but in vain.

Set fyre on the house, saide the sherife,
Syth it wyll no better be,
And brenne we therein William, he saide,
Hys wife and chyl dren thre.

They fired the house in many a place,
The fyre flew up on hye;
Alas! then cryed fayre Alyce,
I se we here shall dye.

William openyd a backe window,
That was in hys chamber hie,
And there with sheetes he did let downe
His wife and children three.

Have you here my treasure, sayde William,
My wyfe and my chyldren thre:
For Christes love do them no harme,
But wreke you all on me.—Percy's Reliques, p. 41.

He now rushes out, and it is only by throwing "dores" and "wyn-dowes" upon him that he is at length taken. This mode of overcoming a prisoner has been considered ridiculous; but, so far from it being so, it is to us a strong proof of the genuineness of the ballad. Doors and window-shutters, for these are evidently meant, were during the middle ages fastened not by hinges, but by hooks and staples; they could, therefore, be swiftly removed, and were certainly from their weight well adapted to this purpose. "A payre of newe gallows" is now all that remains for the bold outlaw; but the little town swineherd, to whom William had often given a meal, gives notice to the two brother outlaws, and they forthwith determine to rescue him. The mode which they adopt is also quite characteristic of the days of our Plantagenets. The sheriff having ordered the gates to be fast closed until the execution is over, they pretend to be king's messengers, bearing letters patent. It was incumbent on the warders of a town to open immediately to the bearers of such, and thus the broad hanging seal appears sufficient proof to the porter that the messengers are the bearers of a royal mandate. He opens the gate, they rush in, knock him down, and seize the keys. Meanwhile William of Cloudesley

Lay ready there in a cart,
Fast bound both fote and hand;
And a stronge rope about hys necke,
Already for to hange.

The justice called to hym a ladde,
Cloudeslees clothes hee shold have,
To take the measure of that yeman,
Therafter to make hys grave.

I have sene as grent mervaille, said Cloudeslee,
As betweyne thys and pryme,
He that maketh a grave for mee,
Hymselfe may lye therin.—Ib. p. 43.

This philosophical remark is quite in keeping with the changeful fortunes of the outlaw, and his many escapes; the reader will remark, too, how generally the ecclesiastical divisions of time were adopted, when even the rude ballad-maker uses the word "prime," the name of the earliest daily service of the church, to express early on the following morning.

"Thouspeakest proudly," saith the justice; "I will thee hang wyth my hande;" but the justice, and the sheriff too fall by the well aimed shafts of his brethren, and William, loosed from his bonds, fights manfully, and at length escapes to the greenwood.

In the next part of this genuine minstrel ballad, the three outlaws, seized with a sudden fit of compunction, determine to go to London, to ask pardon of the king. Their bold entrance into the palace, and the simplicity with which they state their offences are very characteristic.

And whan they came to the kynges courte,
Unto the pallace-gate,
Of no man wold they aske no leave,
But boldly went in therat.

They preceed prestly into the hall,
Of no man had they dreade;
The porter came after, and dyd them cali,
And with them began to chyde.

The usher sayd, Yemen, what wold ye have?
I pray you tell to me:
You myght thus make offycers shent
Good syrs, of whence be ye?

Syr, we be out-lawes of the forest
Certayne withouten lease;
And hether we be come to the kyng,
To get us a charter of peace.

And when they came before the kyng,
As it was the lawe of the lande,
They kneled downe without lettyng,
And eche held up his hand.

They sayed, Lord, we beseche the here,
That ye wyll graunt us grace;
For we have slayne your fat falow dere
In many a sondry place.—lb. p. 44.

The king, on learning their names, not only refuses their prayer, but threatens to hang them. In the true feudal spirit, they now urge, that as they came “freely” to the king’s presence, he is bound to permit them “freely” to depart. That this right was generally recognized in the middle ages, we have curious proofs both in the romances and in history; but these outlaws have, it appears, made themselves so obnoxious to the king that he refuses their plea, and they are only saved by the interposition of the queen.

That were great pitye, then sayd the quene,
If any grace myght be.

My lorde, whan I came fyrst into this lande
To be your wedded wyfe,
The fyrst boone that I wold aske,
Ye would grant it me belyfe;

And I asked you never none tyll now;
Therefore, good lorde, graunt it me.
Now aske it, madam, sayd the kyng,
And graunted it shal be.

Then, good my lord, I you beseche,
These yemen graunt ye me.

Madame, ye myght have asked a boone,
That shuld have been worth them all thre.

Ye myght have asked towres, and townes,
Parkes and forestes plenté.
None soe pleasant to my pay, she sayd;
Nor none so lefe to me.

Madame, sith it is your desyre,
Your askyng graunted shal be;
But I had lever have given you
Goed market townes thre.

The quene was a glad woman,
And sayde, Lord, gramerey;
I dare undertake for them,
That true men shall they be.—Ib. p. 45.

How closely do these verses resemble the pleadings of Philippa for the burghers of Calais, and the answer of Edward: "Ah, gentle sir, since I have crossed the seas with great danger to see you, I have never asked you one favor, and now I earnestly ask as a gift, for the sake of the Son of the blessed Mary, and for your love to me, that you will be merciful to these six men." The king looked at her for some time in silence, and then said: "Ah, lady, I would you had been anywhere else than here; you have so entreated, that I cannot refuse: I give them to you to do what you please with them." We might almost believe that the author of this ballad had heard the tale of Philippa's successful mediation, not indeed from Froissart, for his delightful chronicles were composed in courtly French, but from some of those men-at-arms, or gallant archer bands, who had witnessed the scene. The pardon is scarcely granted when letters from Carlisle arrive, detailing the last misdeeds of the outlaws. The king is sorely vexed, but, in the true spirit of chivalry, he does not attempt to violate the promise so incautiously given. He expresses a wish to see them shoot, and the incident in *Ivanhoe*—of Lockesley shooting at the willow wand—is closely copied from this old ballad. Cloudesley, emboldened by the king's astonishment, now offers to place an apple on his son's head, and at the distance of sixscore paces to cleave it in two. The king commands him to do it; and the apocryphal feat related of William Tell is performed by the bold English outlaw, William of Cloudesley.

He prayed the people, that wer there,
That they all still wold stand,
For he that shoteth for such a wager
Behoveth a stedfast hand.

Muche people prayed for Cloudesle,
That his lyfe saved myght be,
And whan he made hym redy to shote,
There was many weeping ee.

But Cloudesle clefte the apple in two,
His sonne he did not nee.
Over Gods forbode, sayde the kinge,
That thou shold shote at me.—Ib. p. 46.

The ballad concludes with the king appointing him bow-bearer and chief ranger of the northern forests, and with the characteristic prayer that—

All that with the hand bowe shooteth,
Of heaven may never misse.

We have gone over this old ballad rather at length, because it illustrates the remarks we have just made upon this species of composition. As pictures of the manners of the higher classes, or as corroborations of history, ballads are utterly worthless. But as pictures of life among the peasantry or dwellers in the upland towns, above all, as illustrations of the feeling, especially the political feeling, of our forefathers at a very early period, they are most valuable. None but a yeomanry devotedly attached to their free institutions could have cherished, from generation to generation, such ballads as this, and those so similar in character, which tell of the prowess and free spirit of Robin Hood, "who cared neither for king or baron." And yet, we have been told, and with a large class it is still an article of orthodox belief, that our forefathers, until the parliamentary struggle, were in possession of scarcely a political right; that the great charter was merely intended to secure the rights of a privileged few, and that the mass of the people, during the illustrious sway of our Plantagenets, were mere bondsmen. The second work on our table, "The Political Songs of England," might of itself alone show the groundlessness of these opinions; for in it,—in the very rudest English, just at the period of its latest transition from the Saxon,—we find exulting songs on the defeat of the king's friends, bitter satire and fierce invectives against the royal favorites, and bold assertions of popular rights, such as we doubt have been scarcely surpassed in modern periods of our history. And what will yet more excite surprise, to those who have only become acquainted with history through the ordinary medium, is, that the clergy "led the way as bold reformers, and the refectory of the monastery, no less than the baronial hall, rang frequently with the outbursts of popular feeling."

The oldest political song, hitherto discovered, is that composed on the defeat of Richard of Almaine (as he was called in consequence of his having been crowned Emperor of Germany), and the barons of the king's party, at the battle of Lewes. It is in Percy's Reliques, but we give three verses from the more correct copy in the "Political Songs."

Sitteþ alle stille ant herkneth to me :
The Kyn of Alemaigne, bi mi leauté,
Thritti thousand pound askede he
For to make the pees in the countré,

ant so he dude more.

Richard, thah thou be ever trichard (deceitful),
trichen shalt thou never more.

The Kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel,
He saisede the mulne for a castel,
With hare sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel,
He wende that the sayles were mangonel

to helpe Wyndesore.

Richard, etc.

Be the luef, be the loht, sire Edward,
 Thou shalt ride sporeles o thy lyard
 Al the ryhte way to Doveere ward;
 Shalt thou never more breke fore-ward,
 ant that reweth sore:
 Edward, thou duest ase a shreward,
 forsoke thyn emes lore (uncle's teaching).
 Richard, etc.—*Political Songs*, pp. 69, 71.

Edward, afterwards king, it will be remembered, had sworn to maintain the Oxford provisions, but he subsequently withdrew; this was the "forsaking his uncle's teaching," alluded to above, for De Montfort, as well as Richard, was his uncle, by marriage with Elinor the sister of King Henry. The phrase "thou shalt ride spurless," we think refers not merely to his hasty flight, but to his perfidy. He had broken his oath, and therefore was no longer worthy to wear the distinctive badge of the knight, the gilt spur. But while the populace thus exulted that Richard "trichen should never more;" the learned clerk indited a long and elaborate Latin poem to celebrate this triumph of popular rights. This poem is very curious, and well worthy of attentive perusal by the inquirer who is desirous of ascertaining the state of public feeling at this period. On reading many passages of it we might well, as Mr. Wright observes, "suppose ourselves transported to the days of Wickliffe or Cromwell." The number of the king's party, says the writer, far exceeded that of the barons; "this was done by heaven, lest any one should boast of it; let all the honor be given to Christ, in whom we believe! For Christ at once, commands, conquers and reigns. We pray God that the minds of the conquerors may not attribute their success to themselves, and what Paul says, be observed by them: 'He that would be joyful, let him be joyful in God.' May the power of the Almighty perfect what it has begun, and restore to its vigor the kingdom of the English people, that glory may be to himself, and peace to his elect, until they be in that land whither He shall lead them." Surely men, who in the first exultation of victory could write thus, could not have been the band of turbulent nobles and lawless commons which our historians have so frequently represented them to be.

But the victory of Lewes was soon followed by the defeat at Evesham, and on the fourth of August, 1265, Simon de Montfort and his chief adherents laid down their lives for the "good cause" of those days. We have no English ballad on this subject remaining, although doubtless there were many; but one in Anglo-Norman, in this volume, has every appearance of having been written on the first news of this disastrous contest, and the writer assures his hearers, that it was "all in tears" that he made this song concerning "our gentle barons," for—

Now is slain that precious flower who fought so valiantly,
 Earl Montfort, whose hard death the land will long weep bitterly.

That by his death their great leader won the crown of martyrdom, and with his company had "gone up in joy to everlasting life," consoles the writer; and we learn from contemporary evidence, that not only was De

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Montfort celebrated as a martyr, but actually addressed as a saint. In a manuscript in the Cotton Library is an account of miracles believed to have been wrought by him; and while the wandering minstrel sang a lament for his death, the clergy, who adopted the popular feeling, hailed his triumphant entrance into heaven, and addressed him:

Salve, Symon Montis fortis,
Totius flos militiæ,
Duras poenas, passus mortis
Protector gentis Angliæ.

And the spirit of this "protector gentis Angliæ" certainly survived his death; and the pardons which the king was forced to grant, and the privileges which he was compelled to continue,—more especially the representation of the commons,—prove that the principles of the Oxford provisions were triumphant, and that the barons conquered, although defeated and slain.

The rule of Edward was stern; still he was a wise, and, what was of almost equal importance to a warlike age, he was a most valiant king. His wisdom prevented him from making violent inroads on the popular liberties, although, that he was quite willing to do so, his contest with the earls of Norfolk and Hereford sufficiently proves, and his numerous victories over the Scots seem to have rendered him almost popular. The political songs of his reign are rather numerous; but it is remarkable that while the pride and oppression of the nobles, of the servants of the king's household, and of the dignified clergy are bitterly noticed, scarcely a word derogatory to the king is to be found. The most violent of them is a song, written we should think by a churchman, as it is in French and Latin, on the king's expedition to Flanders, on which occasion a fifteenth was demanded from every householder, and there was a general seizure of wool to defray the expenses. "It is not pleasant," says the writer, "thus to pay the fifteenth to the last penny." "It is not sound law that gives my woo to the king," and what is worse, after all, "some say neither the king or the queen have it, but only the collectors—they ought to tax the great, and spare the people." The leading grievance of so many generations, purveyors and their tallies, is prominently brought forward. "If the king would take my advice," he says, "he would take his vessels of silver and make money of them; it would be better to eat out of wood, and pay with silver, than serve the body with silver and pay with wood."

Mien valdreit de fust manger, pro victu nummos dare,
Que d'argent le cors servir, et lignum pacare.

In the following song in English, on the insurrection of the Flemish burghers, we perceive how popular feeling went along with them; and in that on the times, the troubles endured by the poor from vexatious litigation, and the advantages obtained by the rich, through the same means, are naively set forth by the fable of the fox, the wolf and the ass. Still, oppressed by taxes as the lower orders felt themselves, we yet find that the death of Edward was viewed by them as a national calamity:

it is true that the character of his successor was such as to excite well grounded fears. There are two laments on King Edward's death, the English one manifestly a translation of the Anglo-Norman. We will give a verse both of the original and of the translation, as curious specimens of the two vernacular languages. Edward had vowed to revisit the Holy Land, hence the allusion in the text.

Jerusalem, tu as perdu
 La flour de ta chivalerie,
 Rey Edward le viel chanu,
 Qe tant ama ta seignurie.
 Ore est-il mort; jeo ne sai mie
 Toun baner qi le meintindra :
 Sun duz quor par grant druerie
 Outre la mere vous mandera.'—Ib. p. 242.

Jerusalem, thou hast i-lore
 The flour of al chivalerie;
 Now Kyng Edward liveth na more :
 Alas! that he yet shulde deye!
 He wolde ha rered up fol beye
 Oure baners, that bueth broht to grounde;
 Wel longe we mowe clepe and crie
 Er we a such kyng han y-founde!—Ib. p. 249.

The lament concludes with a prayer that Edward of Caernarvon may be equal to his father in wisdom and power, that he may do right to poor men, and govern the realm well;—an unanswered prayer, as England soon found.

One of the first songs composed during this disastrous reign is on the king's breaking his confirmation of Magna Charta. It presents a curious mixture of Anglo-Norman and English.

Nostre prince de Engleterre,
 Par le conseil de sa gent,
 At Westminster after the feire
 Made a gret parlement,
 La chartre fet de cyre,
 Jeo l'enteink et bien le crey,
 It was holde to neih the fire,
 And is molten al away.—Ib. p. 253.

That the charter was made of wax, is not to be understood by any allusion to the seal, but to the custom then, and still later in practice, of covering a board with a thin coating of wax, and then writing on it with an iron pen. This was generally done in the monastic schools in teaching boys to write; the meaning of this passage, therefore, seems rather to be, that the king, like a school-boy, was set to copy out the charter, but determined not to maintain its provisions; no sooner had he finished it than he held it to the fire, and thus the letters were obliterated. The mixture of French and English here seems not to have been uncommon at this time. There is another song which gives successive half lines of French, Latin and English; and there are others, in the third work on our table, "*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*," in which Latin and English are inter-

mixed with really a graceful effect. The following two stanzas, from an address to the Virgin about the middle of the thirteenth century, are remarkably sweet and flowing.

Of one that is so fayr and bright,
 velut maris stella,
 Brighter than the day is light,
 parens et puella.
 Ic crie to the, thou se to me,
 Levedy, preye thi sone for me,
 tam pia,
 That ic mote come to the,
 Maria.

Levedi, flour of alle thing,
 rosa sine spina,
 Thu bere Jhesu hevene king,
 gratia divina;
 Of alle thu berst the pris,
 Levedi, quene of parays
 electa.
 Mayden milde, moder *es*
 effecta.

Reliquiæ Antiquæ, p. 89.

The song on the king's breaking the charter goes on, after the few lines at the beginning, in what was then good plain English, to tell how four wise old men met together to discourse about the troubles of England.

The ferste seide, I unnderstonde
 Ne may no king wel ben in londe,
 Under God Almihte,
 But he cunne himself rede,
 Hou he shal in londe lede
 Everi man wid rigte.
 For might is riht,
 Liht is night,
 And fiht is fliht.
 For miht is riht, the lond is laweles;
 For niht is liht, the lond is loreles;
 For fiht is fliht, the lond is nameles.

That other seide a word ful god,
 Whoso roweth agein the flod,
 Off sorwe he shal drinke;
 Also hit fareth bi the unsele,
 A man shall have litel hele
 Their agein to swinke (labor).
 Nu one is two,
 Another is wo,
 And frende is fo.
 For one is two, that lond is streintheles;
 For well is wo, the lond is reutheles;
 For frend is fo, the lond is loveles.

Political Songs, pp. 254, 255.

The phrase,—“whoso roweth against the flood”—seems to refer to the pertinacious perversity of the king, in adhering to Gaveston in despite of his wisest counsellors; and the line—“for one is two, the land is strengthless,”—seems also to refer to the same cause, for we find, in a contemporaneous chronicle, it was remarked that there were *two* kings instead of one; while “for friend is foe, the land is loveless” may be an allusion to the quarrel of Earl Thomas of Lancaster, who from friend had become the king’s foe, on account of the protection which he persisted in affording to his worthless favorite.

The conclusion of this curious poem breathes a spirit of conciliation; which is very pleasing, and we think that political writers even in the present day might take a lesson from this homely versifier.

Riche and pore, bond and fre,
That love is good, ye may se;
Love clepeth ech man brother;
For it that he to blame be,
Forgif hit him *par charite*;
Al theih he do other.

Love we God, and he us alle,
That was born in an oxe stalle,
And for us don on rode (cross).
His swete herte-blod he let
For us, and us faire het (bade)
That we sholde be gode.

Be we nu gode and stedefast,
So that we muwen at the last
Haven heven blisse.
To God Almihti I preie (pray)
Let us never in sinne deie (die)
That joye for to misse.—lb. pp. 256, 257.

That Gaveston had rendered himself, for years before his death, most obnoxious to the people, we have the concurrent testimony of contemporary historians, but we scarcely expected to find so fierce a spirit manifested against him, and by the clergy too, as both the Latin poems on his execution breathe. They are parodies on two of the finest hymns of the Latin church,—the “*Vexilla Regis prodeunt*” and the “*Pange Lingua*,”—and they celebrate, in the most exulting strains, the death of him “who had reigned far too long,” “who had so long vexed England.” This is the more remarkable, since we are not aware of Gaveston’s having evinced any hostility to the church or to her ministers. The joy felt by the clergy at his death can, therefore, only be attributed to their hatred of foreigners, and their advocacy of free principles.

There were, doubtless, numerous English songs written on the same occasion, and breathing the same spirit; but none of these have been discovered; and for exemplifications of the popular feeling, not only on the death of Gaveston, but on the cruel execution of Earl Thomas of Lancaster, we must turn to the compositions of churchmen. The death of this great friend of the commons was viewed as a martyrdom; the

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mound on which he was beheaded became the place of pilgrimage to multitudes, and St. Paul's, the metropolitan cathedral, as we learn from a precept in the *Fœdera*, was thronged by thousands who asserted that "a certain picture" of him wrought miracles. Again was the honor of canonization performed, not by the Pope in conclave, but by the superstitious gratitude of a marvelling and warm-hearted age; and again was the fine Good-Friday hymn adapted to the celebration of St. Thomas of Lancaster.

Pange lingua gloriosi, comitis martyrium,
Sanguinisque pretiosi Thomæ floris militum
Germinisque generosi laudis, lucis comitum.

With this celebration of the martyr of freedom, the present volume of the "Political Songs of England" ends; we are promised a second, which will include our political songs to the close of the reign of Richard the Third, and we look forward to its publication with much interest.

The third work on our table, "*Reliquiæ Antiquæ*," has not hitherto afforded much illustration of the political condition of our forefathers; but on their social and religious condition it has thrown some additional light. The first point that struck us was the numerous translations, eight or nine at least, of the Lord's Prayer, the commandments, the creed and other parts of the regular service, which, while they are most valuable for tracing the gradual progress of the English language, are more valuable still as proofs that the people, from the eleventh to the fifteenth century, were by no means so utterly destitute of common religious knowledge, as the writers at the period of the Reformation would lead us to suppose. These translations, indeed, afford strong corroborations of our opinion, that the service in the parish churches, but especially in the *friars'* churches, was performed in English; and from the circumstance of many of the Latin hymns being also translated into English verse, of which there are specimens by a Franciscan, we have little doubt that the whole congregation joined in singing them. One of the most curious poems in these numbers is the "*Proverbs of Hendyng*," a collection of moral precepts in verse, each ending with a popular proverb. Many of these are still in use. "Good beginning makes good ending;" "A fool's bolt is soon shot;" "The burnt child dreads the fire;" and many of them exhibit a favorable specimen of the popular instruction afforded during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. We will give two verses in modernized spelling, as the original is almost unreadable.

If thou havest bread and ale,
Ne put them not all in thy male (chest),
But deal some part about.
Be thou free of thy meals,
And whosoe'er his meat he deals,
Thou shalt not go without.
Better is apple given than eaten,
Quoth Hendyng. * * *

If thou art rich, and well ytold,
 Nor be thou not of it too bold,
 Ne wax thee not too wild (joyous)—
 O bear thee fairly in all thing
 And thou shalt have blessing,
 And be thou meek and mild.
 When the cup is fullest, then bear it steadiest,
 Quoth Hendyng.

We have exceeded the limits we proposed, or we should have proceeded to give some curious illustrations of the general opinions, the superstitions, and the modes of instruction in use among our forefathers. We may, however, probably again return to this subject in our review of the subsequent numbers of this third and very interesting collection. Sufficient has, however, we trust, been said to show the importance of works like these, especially as enabling us to form a correct estimate of the actual condition of the people during the middle ages. A far different aspect do the contests under Simon de Montfort in the thirteenth century, and those under Earl Thomas of Lancaster in the following, assume when contemplated in the light of contemporary documents, and illustrated by the popular songs and hymns actually sung by those engaged in the struggle, to that in the pages of the *soi disant* philosophical historian, who, having first formed his theory, seeks to bend historical evidence to it. The liberties of England, and her high national character have been of no hasty growth; and while far be it from us to found our right to a free government upon the mere circumstance of antiquity, still, to use the words of Mr. Hallam, "it is a generous pride that intertwines the consciousness of hereditary freedom with the memory of our ancestors; and no trifling argument against those who seem indifferent in its cause, that the character of the bravest and most virtuous among nations has not depended upon the accidents of race or climate, but been gradually wrought by the plastic influence of civil rights, transmitted as a prescriptive inheritance through a long course of generations."

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ARTICLE VIII.

STATE OF SOCIETY AND OF POPULAR AND LIBERAL EDUCATION IN FRANCE.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

Few persons in this country are aware of the importance of the general subject of education in France. Few, therefore, can be expected at once to appreciate the justness of the statement contained in the first sentence of the following article. We venture, however, to assure our readers that the writer has fully sustained his position, that the subject is of vital interest to the whole world. In this respect his discussion so perfectly explains itself, and in a style so attractive and convincing, that we cannot hope to increase its intrinsic worth by any remarks of our own. The views which it presents are philosophical, as well as comprehensive and benevolent. They are the suggestions of a true philanthropy.

The article is also especially valuable for the account which it contains of the real state of society in France, and of the causes of the moral phenomena which have marked the history of that excitable and restless portion of the human family, ever changing, yet always retaining the same essential characteristics. The most important of these causes our author finds in the defective system of the national education. To exhibit the infelicities of the system, he gives in detail, and with a candor which inspires confidence, a brief account of its present state and its practical effects on the condition of the people. The facts and statistics which it furnishes are of great value in themselves. These, considered in connection with the information contained in a succeeding article, from the *Revue des deux Mondes*, on the French Institute and the state of the Sciences in France, we flatter ourselves, will present a more full, satisfactory and recent account of the real state of education in that country, popular, liberal, professional and scientific, than the reader will be able to find elsewhere in the same compass. The omissions in this article, which are indicated by the usual marks, are only of a few unimportant paragraphs.—SR. ED.

From the London Quarterly Review for March, 1841.

De l'Instruction Publique en France, Guide des Familles. Edition populaire, tirée à 10,000 exemplaires. Par Emile de Girardin. Paris, 1840.

THE subject of this small volume, published in the cheapest form (the edition is said to be of 10,000 copies) for general distribution, is of vital interest, not to France alone, nor to Europe, but to the whole world.—

Europe, with the exception of two of its least civilized provinces, Spain and the Turkish empire, has now enjoyed a peace of twenty-five years; a longer period of repose from the crimes and miseries of war than has blessed mankind, since that which has been called the happiest epoch in history—the period between the death of Trajan and the accession of the younger Antoninus. Nor has peace failed to fulfil its sacred mission. It is difficult to estimate the immense advancement in population, in wealth, in comfort, in commerce, in internal and international communication throughout every part of the continent, in education in most countries, almost everywhere in the general, social and intellectual condition of the people, in national self respect, and respect for the rights and independence of other nations. It would be impossible to imagine a stronger contrast than the actual condition of Europe and its state at the close of the war, with its desolated fields and bombarded cities, with its commerce annihilated, its agriculture impoverished, its population thinned by conflicts of unexampled magnitude, the people weighed down by insupportable taxation, and galled by remorseless conscription, and with all the national antipathies and jealousies exasperated by long oppression, and either intoxicated with the pride of victory and just revenge, or fiercely struggling with the shame and indignation of defeat. It might have been supposed, and may still indeed be supposed, that mankind had been made wise by the stern and convincing lessons of the previous half-century; that they would have learned how idle and expensive a luxury is war; that peace affords to the ruler, as well as to the subject, a nobler glory than military fame; that scarcely any territorial aggrandizement is worth the sacrifice which must be made to obtain it; and that there are few countries in which half the expenditure, in the diminution of the burdens of the citizens, or the promotion of industry by some wise plan of internal improvement, would not add ten-fold to the wealth and power of the state, as well as to the happiness of the people.

The golden age of Roman peace and civilization, in the nature of things, could not endure. Even now, indeed, we do not clearly comprehend the causes which pushed forward the vast successive waves of the northern and eastern barbarians on the enfeebled and degenerate empire—how it came to pass that these savage regions suddenly became so inexhaustible in their numbers, and irresistible in the inroads of their armies, century after century, from the first fearful gatherings on the Danube, in the time of M. Aurelius, to the Arabs under the Mohammedan invaders, and the Tartars under Zengis, pouring forth their devastating hordes, and each spreading, as it were, another layer of barbarism over the whole surface of society. It might indeed appear as if the Divine Ruler had in his wisdom determined to infuse new and more vigorous life-blood into the remotest part of the effete and corrupted Roman empire, which even Christianity had not been able thoroughly to regenerate; that this was a severe but necessary process which alone could bring the whole of Europe—the north as well as the south and west—into that general social system destined to give birth to modern civilization.

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from any barbarian invasion. The few tribes, which wander over the steppes of Tartary, or plunder their neighbors in the ravines of the Caucasus, can never, humanly speaking, collect in such formidable masses as to endanger the kingdoms of the west. A few regular regiments, and some squadrons of flying artillery would disperse them back to their native deserts; and in all quarters of the East, Europe is rapidly encroaching on the wildest recesses of savage life. These Tartar or Scythian hordes may be formidable as light-armed auxiliaries, as wild skirmishers around the regular armaments of that great power, which has once let them loose upon Europe in a war of defence and retribution, and *may* slip them again from the leash in a war of ambition and aggression: but of themselves they are utterly contemptible as a military power. The world will never see again a Tamerlane or a Zengis.

But are we so secure against an internal barbarism which may grow up in the bosom of our own society, and combine some of the arts, the sciences, the manual dexterity, the arms, and even the military discipline of a more advanced state, with a recklessness of human life, and a thirst for plunder, not less wild and remorseless than that of the Hun or the Tartar? May there not be, even within the pale of the most advanced and civilized nations, vast hordes of men, who either do or may soon yearn for war for the sake of war, for its excitement, its adventure, its hazards, for the mere occupation of minds which are weary of inactivity, and oppressed by almost the greatest of human miseries—energy without employment, the suppressed fire which finds no vent—who, not setting their own lives “at a pin’s fee,” would think the lives of others as worthless as their own; who, as to property, have nothing to lose, and *might* gain at the great gambling-table of war; who have no reverence for law or order, or for that still higher restrictive authority which controls the Christian—who, in fine, are totally deficient in any check or restraint upon the resistless and unresisted propensity to agitation and violence?—This fierce and ungoverned population may, in the first place, be more dangerous to the internal peace of the unhappy nation within which it has grown up than to that of Europe. A civil revolution—if it is too strong for constitutional order; a civil war—if the constitution has vigor enough to resist its attack—may be its first result; but we may doubt whether a civil war in any of the great European countries would not lead of necessity to foreign war. The government of the disturbed country, by a false and wicked, but yet not unnatural policy, may attempt to divert the raging torrent over its neighbors’ fields rather than its own; or the fire, having consumed all within its reach, may of itself spread in inextinguishable fury into other regions. The sword once drawn in any one of the more important states of the civilized world, there is no knowing what lands it will go through.

It is impossible to deny, that of all countries in Europe, France is the most likely to pour forth what we do not scruple to call this new tide of barbarism—of war with all its destructive ferocity, without those high and generous motives which may dignify war, and entitle its more distinguished captains to the lofty but much misused title of hero and patriot.

Independent of the influence of recent changes in their political institutions, and the circumstances of our stormy times, during which agitation has become, as it were, the breath of life, and events which, in more peaceful ages, would have been wondered at through centuries, and would have vibrated, as it were, through successive generations, have succeeded each other so rapidly as scarcely to raise a few days' astonishment—the mere fact of a vast increase of population, with comparatively little increase in employment, or industrial and honorable occupation, might of itself be sufficiently formidable; and this has taken place among a people of peculiarly lively, active, and, we may say without offence, unquiet character. It is a vast condensation of still collecting steam, without wheels to set in motion, and almost without a safety-valve. We are not ignorant of, nor disposed to dissemble our own danger from the masses of our uneducated—we fear widely unchristianized—manufacturing population. The smothered war-cries of Chartism and Socialism demand our gravest attention; yet our miners and manufacturers, at least *while at work*, have some occupation: their energy, however they may reserve it for their midnight treasonable meetings, or even for secret drillings, is at least partially exhausted by the inevitable labors of the day. But we are mistaken if in France there is not a much larger mass of energy and activity, in some places compressed in a narrow space, almost entirely without regular or absorbing occupation, and utterly stagnant, and therefore liable to be ruffled or fiercely agitated by the slightest breath. In the higher as well as the lower classes, there is the same want of straight and regular paths in which steady industry or persevering ambition may ensure success in life. France has no “backwoods” to which her discontented peasant may resort, to spend his surplus energy in warring with the forest, indulge his now harmless passion in the remote log-but, and contend with the bear or the savage for his crop of Indian corn or hive of wild honey. How many a dangerous demagogue, who in a more crowded state of society might have endangered the peace of New-York or Philadelphia—how many a fierce ruffian who would be panting to shoulder a musket (he cares not in what cause), is now hewing away at some trunk of tough hickory, or pointing his innocent rifle at a wild turkey! France is not, like America—almost throughout the Union—and England to a great extent—pervaded with an incessant commercial activity; she is not perpetually intent on going ahead; her state of society, the character of the people, the habits of subsisting on coarse food, and dispensing, in the remoter districts, with many of the comforts and conveniences which are become necessary to the lower orders in some other countries, combine, with the want of opportunity, to keep down that which is the main principle of industry and exertion in more enterprising and commercial nations,—the desire of working out an honorable independence, or at least of advancing in the scale of society, either by regular and uninterrupted perseverance, or bold and adventurous speculation.—Nor does France, nor can she indeed, relieve herself by continual and extensive emigration. Individual Frenchmen are scattered, by their own enterprising disposition, and by the easy facility with which they accom-

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moderate themselves to the habits and manners of other countries, over the face of the world. They are in the service, not of Mehemet Ali alone, but of many other eastern sovereigns: they lie hid under foreign names, or high-sounding oriental titles. But France has no remote empire to which she is transmitting, by every fleet, masses of her superfluous people—a number of active, spirited, and adventurous youths, who may not now indeed hope to return with the wealth of nabobs, or the glory of a Clive or a Hastings, but have a path before them both of honorable ambition and by no means contemptible wealth; she is not covering the sea with her navies, and watching the first cravings of civilization in the most remote nooks of the world, in order that she may pour in her manufactures; she has no Cape of Good Hope or Austral-Asia, or Canada, upon which she can cast off her swarms; she is not, in short, propagating her language over regions to be measured by degrees of latitude and longitude, rather than by miles or leagues.

We acknowledge that we looked not merely with forbearance, but with satisfaction, on the French conquests in Algiers. Whatever apprehensions more jealous, and perhaps far-sighted politicians might entertain of the growing predominance of France in the south; however formidable it might appear if she should eventually (as some of her ardent writers have boasted) make the Mediterranean a French lake, we could not but consider the opportunity of an outpouring of her burning lava upon districts which it might hereafter fertilize to a happier vegetation, as far more than a compensation to the other nations of Europe. That Africa, not so much from the warfare in which France is engaged with the Arabs as from the insalubrious climate, has been the grave of so many of her brave soldiers, that the service is therefore become unpopular, and that, by some fatality or infelicity, the French have rarely been successful in colonization on a large scale—all this appears to us not merely a subject of generous regret, but a serious political or rather social misfortune. We cannot but hail any prospect of restoring that once rich and fertile land of culture and prosperity, the granary of Europe, and, in the early centuries of Christianity, the site of crowded cities and countless bishoprics, to its connection with European civilization—of reconquering that most utterly blasted and desolated conquest of barbarism. For surely those, who entertain the most jealous and hostile estimate of the French character since the Revolution, will at least allow that any thing is better than the savage pirates, who have so long preyed with impunity on the commerce and even on the freedom of Europe. Northern Africa is irretrievable but by a foreign, and we may say a European colonization. But however successful and prosperous, beyond all present appearances, might be the French settlements in Africa, even this, we conceive, would be but an insufficient vent for the over-boiling population and compressed activity of the nation, if it should continue in its present internal state.

Yet what a nation might France have been, if, to reckon only from the reign of Louis XIV., she had consumed one-tenth part of the energy or expenditure which she has wasted in disturbing the peace of her neighbors, and in conquests which have always been wrested from her hands,

on the internal improvement of her provinces, on the development of her natural resources, on industrial opulence, and the advancement of her *people* in real civilization! What might France be even now, if she would wisely avail herself of her natural advantages, and, instead of lingering behind—we will not say our own more narrow and richly cultivated fields, but a large part of Germany—work out her own soil to its highest productiveness; establish a free and cheap communication between her remote provinces; make her vineyards and her corn fields vie with each other by the rapid interchange of commodities!—if, instead of concentrating all her high-wrought and over-refined civilization in one spot, she would equally disperse it over her whole surface; if, instead of the singular anomaly of a capital, at least vying with any city of Europe in splendor, in arts, in science, and provinces, where the most careless traveller may see how much is wanting to do justice to the capacities of the soil, and to the commercial resources—she would cease to be *Paris with a vast tributary domain*, and become really *France*, with only a noble capital for the residence of her monarch and legislature.

France might yet surely find at home an honorable and a profitable employment for a large portion of that energy and enterprise of character which is now wasted, by being constantly drawn off to the overgrown capital, to increase the dangerous fermentation of its dissipated streets, to lie in unproductive idleness, or sit brooding over the ill-suppressed hope of some outburst either of foreign warfare or civil commotion, which may improve, and cannot well deteriorate their condition.

These views are strikingly borne out and illustrated by the small work before us, which, though professedly treating on the subject of education alone, furnishes more information on the actual state of things in France than many ponderous volumes of statistics, certainly than the volumes of many laborious travellers. The author is M. Emile Girardin, who was formerly a deputy; but the unfortunate issue of his duel with the celebrated Armand Carrel brought upon him such a storm of unpopularity that he has returned, we believe, to his original occupation of journalist. There is nothing, however, in this unhappy event, which seems to have darkened the prospects of the ex-deputy, to make us mistrust his statements, or decline his apparently sound and patriotic advice on his present subject. With the state of one leading portion of *la jeune France*, with the host of adventurers which crowd from all quarters to the metropolis, and by their bold activity and vehemence represent themselves as the organs, the voices of public opinion and sentiment, he must have, unless we are mistaken, great practical acquaintance—*quorum pars ipse fuit*. On the miseries thus self-inflicted by individuals on themselves, on the political and social dangers inseparable from the existing order of things, he may be, as far as we can judge, an honest and unimpeachable witness; and we shall assume his general veracity on the facts which he produces as of general notoriety, in a work, which, by aiming at general diffusion, invites and defies contradiction. The book, we may add, is in many respects extremely well written, always lively, occasionally eloquent. This may be but the practised pen of the journalist; but we are

inclined—we trust not through too much charity or simplicity—to attribute much of its merit as a work to the sincere and earnest convictions of the writer. At all events, it is a man of a certain station and position in the world, demanding to be heard in a statement, certainly not flattering or inspiring, as to the existing condition of a most important political problem. We might have accumulated a mass of other works on the subject, reports of the successive Ministers of Public Instruction, and publications on education, almost as numerous, though less contentious and controversial than with ourselves; we have preferred, however, the simple promulgation of M. Girardin's views and opinions.

M. Girardin considers the present state of education in France as in an unsatisfactory and dangerous state, partly from its insufficiency, partly from the erroneous system upon which it is conducted. His work, it must be clearly understood, by no means confines itself to what is called popular education—to the instruction of the lower orders: the larger part of the volume relates to the schools, academies and colleges of the higher classes. He commences with the following principles:

The best institutions, where the education of the people is not sufficiently profound and general to develop their principles, are only elements of disturbance cast into the bosom of society; for they create wants which they cannot satisfy; they are lavish of rights and duties; they weaken governments, which, by the multiplication of laws, render their execution impossible; they concentrate to excess, in a few ardent minds, those ideas which ought to be imperceptibly absorbed by the whole population. These ideas ferment and explode for want of vent. It is thus that institutions, which produce more *power* than they can usefully employ, perish by the excess of that which it becomes necessary to compress. . . . The instruction of the people endangers absolute governments; their ignorance, on the contrary, imperils representative governments: for the parliamentary debates, while they reveal to the masses the extent of their rights, do not wait till they can exercise these with discernment; and when a people knows its rights, there is but one way to govern, to educate them. . . . The evil of our present times is this: the general ignorance perpetuates and renders necessary the centralization of the executive power; the extent of one constitutes the force of the other. Every premature attack on this centralization will be vain or dangerous. Though the tradition of monopoly may be destroyed, the ignorance of the great majority of the voters (contribuables) is so great that it would be impossible to substitute municipal (local) government. . . . By the public education I mean the primary education adequately endowed, the university education judiciously completed.—p. 15.

M. Girardin proceeds, in a few pregnant paragraphs, to show the natural workings of the present system:

What is the result of the primary education with an insufficient annual endowment? The disorganization (*déclassement*) of the population, the impoverishment of agriculture, the encumbering of manufac-

turing industry, the agglomeration of a floating mass of turbulent men, who besiege the avenues of power, destroy all respect for the government which uses them, and rise in insurrection against that which repels them. (p. 16.)

A man who can read and write a little is still, in the country, a privileged being, who, in fact, possesses an incontestable superiority. It is rare that he does not abuse the elementary knowledge which he really possesses, by making it pass for that much larger share of knowledge which he still wants. Hence, he in general exercises and accumulates upon himself the functions of family secretary and counsellor, of advocate and notary of the village, which tends not a little to increase the number of law-suits.

If one child in a family has learned to read and write, from the time that he possesses that advantage over his father, he concludes that the occupation of the parent is incompatible with his knowledge: vanity misleads him as to his vocation, and makes him abandon the village for the town. In place of a good husbandman, which he might have been, in a condition to substitute with judgment more perfect modes of cultivation for the erroneous processes which prevail, he goes—according as his parents can make greater or less sacrifices for his future prospects—to increase the number of artisans without work, or to swell the multitude, who, little considering whether the industrial or liberal professions are overcrowded, while *the land* wants men of intelligence and vigor, await the destiny to which they aspire from a *social revolution*.

M. Girardin asserts that this, without exaggeration, is the consequence of the present imperfect system of education; but, if this be the case, either reading and writing must be a more rare accomplishment in the French communes than in our country villages, or the education, whatever it be, which is bestowed on our peasantry, must be of a sounder character. Our small farmers may aspire to apprentice one of their sons to the village attorney, and so hope to make reprisals on society for their losses in law; but we have never heard that this elementary instruction has been productive, to any extent, of this small restless ambition, or this discontent with their condition as laborers in husbandry.

There is, and always must be, a tendency in the country population to drain off to the towns, more especially towards the metropolis. At one time this was proceeding in England by a diseased and irregular process. Before the establishment of the new Poor Law, and the consolidation of the smaller parishes into unions, it was not uncommon for these small country parishes, when in the hands of one or a few proprietors, to pull down their cottages, and so force not merely their pauper and burdensome inhabitants, but, where the town was at no great distance, their own laboring poor, who *might* become burdensome, into the neighboring town, where there were always speculating builders ready to run up rows of smart-looking, but wretched, ill-drained and ill-ventilated hovels. Our manufacturing towns, which formerly drew off such large swarms from our own agricultural districts, have probably ceased to do this to any great extent, the void in the north of England and Scotland being filled

up by the constant immigration of cheaper Irish laborers; but in all the more flourishing and increasing towns, there is a constant demand for domestic servants, and the lower classes of artisans, which are no doubt supplied from the rural districts. How much is yearly swallowed up in the great and expanding gulf of London! But whether the supply exceeds the demand, to any great extent, is a difficult question. Every avenue to fortune, every opening to employment is instantaneously thronged with competitors. From the highest to the lowest, from literature and the arts, the learned professions, law, medicine, and the clergy with their multiplying churches, commerce in all its branches, from the merchant princes of the city down to the small grocer and hardwareman, there is a busy, vehement emulation in which many must fail, and many drag on with but a precarious livelihood. There are no doubt many noble hearts, which, from misfortune or want of opportunity for distinction, are pining in secret and extreme misery; many minds of lofty genius, which have never been able to force their way to notice, and are maddening with disappointment, and perhaps hostility to the existing order of things; there are a vast many more, who have mistaken the flattering whispers of vanity for the conscious inspirations of genius, and whose failure, being more complete and more, unexpected, is more bitter, more galling, more exasperating; and in this fermenting mass of disappointment, discontent and despair, there must be constant danger of explosion. Among such numbers, whom their blighted hopes or actual privations make utterly reckless, there must be men prepared for any change. "The world is not their friend, nor the world's law," and they are ready to seize the first opportunity of making reprisals on the world, and accommodating the law to their own advantage.

But we conceive that the tide which sets into Paris is altogether out of proportion, in depth and strength, to that which flows into any other capital of Europe. All France comes to a head in Paris. While every English country town, except perhaps Winchester and one or two others, is stretching out on every side its rows of suburban houses, or is studded about with small villas, as full of comfort as they are usually deficient in taste, in France such changes are rare and uncommon. There is no appearance of generally increased condensation of population in the provincial cities. In the north of France, except Rouen, a few towns and villages on the sea-coast, which are aspiring to be watering places, and some cities where English settlers have either entered into building speculations or created a demand for new houses, the provincial towns appear not to have experienced any change since the days of Louis XIV., except that melancholy change, which has converted churches and conventual buildings into stables, barns, or barracks. The total want of life and movement in a French provincial town, except on market-days, is almost melancholy—the utter stagnation of business, of interest, even of curiosity. The hoof of a horse is rarely heard, except when upon the high road the crack of the postboy's whip announces the arrival of some high-trunked and imperialed English barouche. To meet a gentleman riding, a carriage taking an airing of pleasure, or any thing but now and then a lazy

creaking cart, is a kind of event. Excepting perhaps the south, where one or two of the cities aspire to the dignity of capitals, and some of the larger sea-ports, it might seem that the whole life of France was flowing into and beating at Paris. According to M. Girardin, almost all who are even half instructed abandon their native fields, and collect in the towns, while, from town and country, there is a still more constant and vast influx of this reckless class of adventurers of all sorts into the capital, where it is impossible that they should find regular and profitable occupation. Nor can it indeed be wondered at that Paris should exercise this powerful attractive influence over the greater part of France. Where every thing is open to real talent, industry and enterprise; where there is no aristocracy, either of birth or wealth, to throng up the avenues to power, wealth, or distinction; among the greatest names in political influence, in science, in literature—names which are familiar to and commanding throughout Europe—there are few who have not forced their way by mere dint of intellectual vigor. The ready pen of the journalist, the bold and fluent tongue of the advocate, the rich or brilliant display of knowledge shown by the professor have been their titles and patents. As in all countries, especially in one where want of self-confidence is certainly no national failing, for one man of real genius there will be hundreds of pretenders to it; for one who has the courage and industry to work his way up through the rude conflict of rival competitors, there will be thousands who think they ought to enjoy the reward without the exertion and fatigue of the strife—it can be no matter of astonishment that there should be so many eager to make a short cut to fame and opulence; that every kind of political, religious and literary fanaticism should obtain its votaries; that every thing violent, exaggerated, extravagant, should find a ready, greedy hearing; that there should be apostles of every strange doctrine, and proselytes to every creedless creed. It is here that Saint Simonianism found its disciples, the Abbé Chatel his few hearers; that Victor Hugo, and Dumas and Balzac have their ardent admirers and countless imitators, their heroes and their victims, that the gaming-table finds its maddening attendants, the morgue its victims; the Fieschis, the Alibauds and the Darmes are drugged with the intoxicating poison of the revolutionary part of the press, and bewildered by the fanaticism of political faction to become the Ravailleurs of a king, who since he ascended the throne has exhibited qualities most worthy of the station, and whose life is far more important to the peace and real greatness of France than that of any of her former sovereigns ever was or could be. Hence those Ishmaelitic tribes who have been well named *Emeutiers*, who dignify, in some cases, a school-boy love of riot and mischief, in others the mere gratification of a restless vanity, and diseased yearning for distinction, with the sacred names of liberty and patriotism, who, weary of wasting their energies in coxcombical inventions in dress or manners, actually fancy themselves entitled to lead a great nation, and to plunge millions into the miseries of political convulsion, that their names may blaze for a day in a newspaper.

The French capital is at once the earthly paradise and the earthly hell of men of enterprise and adventure. To those who can find the narrow

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way, and force an entrance through the strait gate, it has the fulness of worldly joy, the wealth of millionaires, banquets of the most refined luxury, the highest honors in the state—the ministerial palace, the adulation of one part at least of the press, the hosts of servile followers, whether to the benches of opposition or the Treasury—the higher and more intellectual enjoyments of the sciences, arts and letters which welcome the powerful patron—all that can gratify an honorable as well as less fastidious ambition. But for the multitude who throng the broad and beaten path, and are driven through the wide gate into the realm of disappointment, of wretchedness, of blighted ambition and ungratified passion, of penury, which flees to the gambling-table to relieve or utterly to beggar, and so drive the wretch to the last act of desperation—in that abyss where there is indeed weeping and gnashing of teeth, what a mass of human misery, remorse and despair is every year, and almost every day, accumulated! How many spirits, noble perhaps before their fall, are surrendered up to the fiercest passions! Men of letters, who have wrought out a fine vein of invention and eloquence in wild ephemeral novels; journalists, who, with great powers, have been crushed in the collision, and after sacrificing all their talents and all their principles for a party, have been thrown off as no longer profitable; men in still loftier paths, who, by one success, by creating one sensation, have fancied themselves a power in the state, and find themselves nothing;—when we recount all these, with the numberless victims of vanity and self-conceit, can we wonder that there should be constantly among these multitudes, in that realm of darkness and wo, men whose “voice is still for war?”—for war with whom or in what cause they care not—war against order, against the existing state of things, war of insurrection or foreign war, with any pretext or without it, seizing either the old revered name of liberty or of national dignity as the watchword of battle, pretending to be, or fancying themselves, jealous, nobly jealous of the national honor, when they are actuated entirely by the uneasiness of their own condition, mistaking, and choosing to mistake the discontent of political failure for the generous aspirations of patriotism. It is this semi-barbarism of a large class which is so dangerous to the peace of France and of Europe. For the present it has been put down by the cautious good sense of the king, the weight of property, the better feeling of the more enlightened, we may perhaps add the extravagance of the war party; but who shall presume to say, where there is such a mass, a constantly accumulating mass of inflammable substance, how soon, how dangerously, how fatally the conflagration may break out, and defy the strength of the government, and the active as well as inert resistance of the better and wiser classes of the community—of those who have all to lose, and nothing to gain in civil or foreign conflict?

The great remedy proposed by M. E. Girardin for this unparalleled condensation of presumptuous half-learning, more dangerous perhaps than ignorance, in the large cities and the capital, and the general ignorance which broods over the whole surface of the country, is *Education*;—but education—we hasten to forewarn our readers (lest they should think they

are but to be put off again with the practical bathos, the lamentable last page, "the suckling fools and chronicling small beer" of our friend Mr. Carlyle's very eloquent "Chartism")—education with a peculiar end, and one, in his opinion, singularly suited to the circumstances and advantages of the French people. M. Girardin's work comprehends, as we have said, not merely popular education, strictly so called, or as it is generally described, *primary instruction*, but likewise the higher and professional education which is intended for all the upper classes of society. In the case of both the upper and the lower orders, M. Girardin hopes, by his scheme of education, to give an impulse towards a better destiny, to divert now wasted or misdirected energies into the safer channels of honorable and profitable employment, to change reckless and adventurous habits for those leading to peace, respectability and happiness; he would show, in short, that there is a vast yet unbroken field of public usefulness and private welfare which will reward its cultivators with the best and purest of all recompense, moral and social improvement, and consequently the safest and best happiness; and which, indeed, if carried out to its utmost extent, might (if we could entertain any unworthy jealousy) almost alarm us with the gigantic scope of wealth and strength into which it might develop the internal resources of France. We must first, however, examine the actual state of things, and its bearing on the formation of the national mind, habits and opinions.

And first, as to the primary or strictly popular education.

The difficulties which the primary instruction in France has to encounter are of two kinds, material and moral. Some of those enumerated under the former head, we acknowledge, rather surprise us, if they operate to the extent asserted by M. Girardin. They illustrate, very forcibly, the want of internal communication and improvement. They arise from the isolation of the hamlets, their distance from the commune where the school is placed; the bad condition of the old roads, which *for half the year* do not allow the children to go to school, particularly at the time when the inclemency of the season and the suspension of labor make their parents better able to spare them; the snows, which cover a large part (*une assez grande étendue*) of France for several months. To these are added the payments exacted from the parents, which are more than they can well provide; the want of expeditious methods of instruction, of schools and schoolmasters. The actual state of France is illustrated by one or two very curious extracts from a "*Tableau de l'Instruction primaire*," by M. Lorain.

Two-thirds of the communes are without regularly-established schools; a building specially set apart for holding the classes is, we may say, an exception; the master opens a room for the children, which is in general his whole house—*livrant ainsi à ces regards indiscrets des scènes de ménage burlesques et inconvenans*. We have found masters who gave their lessons in the open air, and these were the most prudent; others crowded their scholars in damp barns, in stables (where the warm exhalations from the cattle *étaient utilisées, au besoin, comme calorifères*), in hovels with scarcely any light, in cellars or lofts.

The moral obstacles are the apathy of the parents, who are unwilling that their children should be wiser than themselves; the opposition of the clergy in many communes, who do not see that, by assisting the cause of education, they might increase their own influence, and enforce the respect even of the irreligious; "that their sacred ministry (these are the words of M. Girardin) summons them to take the lead in the intellectual emancipation of the masses, and the amelioration of their condition; that to walk with a firm step in the path of advancement (*du progrès*) is to follow the steps of Christ, who overthrew idolatry, abolished slavery, and on their ruins established the religion which proclaims all men to be brethren." There are besides, the indifference and parsimony of the mayors and municipal councils, and the selfishness of the landed proprietors, who think that the progress of education will diminish the number and so raise the wages of laborers; above all, the miserable and dependent position of the teachers, who ought, according to M. Girardin, to take a kind of intermediate rank *between* the mayor and the clergyman (*curé*)—but whose present character and condition confirm the opinion that it will never be a respectable profession, and must always be abandoned to the least capable—to those who embrace it in despair of success in any other.

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Among the remedies proposed by M. Girardin for this acknowledged deficiency both in the amount and quality of instruction are:—1, to make the elementary instruction a state affair, as the church is at present in France—to assimilate the schoolmaster to the minister of religion; 2 and 3, to determine the objects, and to improve the present imperfect and tardy methods of instruction; 4, to deprive, from a fixed period, every voter of his suffrage who is unable to prove that he can read or write; from the same period to give the first numbers in drawing for recruits to those who are able to read and write; 7, to establish in every commune a school for girls,—if not a school, a separate class; 8, the encouragement of the publication of useful books and elementary journals at low prices.

As to the first of these divisions, the least sum, according to M. Girardin, which a schoolmaster should receive is 750 francs (37*l.* 10*s.*) per annum, "which is scarcely sufficient for a priest who lives by himself, without domestic establishment, and therefore is not more than sufficient for the maintenance of the family, often large, of a schoolmaster. The whole expense of this system of education throughout France is calculated at about thirty-two millions of francs, towards a million and a half sterling, which it is proposed to include in the budget. Secondly, as to the objects of instruction.

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By far the most important and peculiar part of M. Girardin's system is the high place which he assigns to the first principles of husbandry and domestic economy. His theory is, that by nature France *was designed for a great agricultural country*. As yet she has not been true to her vocation: but, in raising agriculture to a science, and the cultivation

of the soil to an honorable profession, in the elevation of the cultivators in intelligence, wealth and virtue, he sees a counterpoise to the dominant influence of the great cities, and especially of the capital, a check to the perpetual drain of the hardy and useful country laborers into towns where the arts and manufactures are already overloaded with workmen, and the higher professions and means of employment afford no fair avenue for exertion; he sees, in fact, a corrective of what we have ventured to call the dangerous barbarism of a large class, who are almost of necessity goaded into turbulence, and at war with all order and government, the extension of a calm, peaceful and happy civilization, enriched by increased production, occupied by constant but not exhausting labor, content, though not without salutary emulation, attached to the free institutions of the country, which give security to their property, their improvement, their domestic happiness.

The landed proprietors hold in their hands the destinies of France: for, by raising the lands which they possess to the value of which they are capable, they cannot fail to acquire a local influence, which, causing them to pass successively through the exercise of the elective franchise, the municipal councils, the office of mayor, the council of the arrondissement, the general council, must inevitably bring them at last to the representation of the interests of the country, and at the same time give them a real acquaintance with its wants.—p. 186.

M. Girardin founds his argument on the actual state of the cultivation and produce of France. The statistics we presume to be correct, as we are not aware that they have been controverted in France. We shall take them, as given in more full detail, from a memoir which he addressed, in 1834, to M. Thiers, then minister of commerce and public works:

The surface of France contains fifty-three millions of hectares, of which twenty-five millions are of land capable of cultivation, and yet scarcely a *third* of the population eat (*qu.* wheaten?) bread; while four millions of hectares of good land, well cultivated and sowed with wheat, would be sufficient to feed, healthily and substantially, its thirty-three millions of inhabitants.* In England, agriculture occupies 13,396 square leagues. In France, agriculture occupies 27,400 square leagues, and the produce is about (*à peu près*) a seventh less. In England, 13,396 square leagues, worked by 7,500,000 husbandmen, yield a gross produce of 5,480,000,000 francs, that is, 40,000 francs per square league, or 722 francs per head. In France, 27,400 square leagues, worked by 22,000,000 laborers, yield only a gross produce of 4,500,000,000 francs, that is 16,000 francs per square league, or 200 francs per head.

* A hectare of fertile land, well cultivated and sown with corn, produces easily 22 hectolitres, which weigh 1694 kilogrammes; while the average annual consumption of an individual may be estimated at 197 kilogrammes of wheat. The hectare is 2.473614 acres.—*Note of the Author.*

Of 49,863,609 hectares of land liable to taxation in France,		
25,550,159	"	are devoted to the cultivation of the cerulia,
4,834,621	"	are in meadow,
2,134,822	"	are in vines,
7,412,314	"	are in wood,
7,799,672	"	are in commons, pastures, heaths (landes, pâtis, bruyères, etc.).
<hr/>		
48,705,514		

The remainder is in gardens and buildings. * * * *

In England, the neat weight of bullocks for the slaughter-house is 554 lbs.; in France, 350 lbs. The same proportion holds good as to calves, sheep and lambs consumed in the respective countries. England possesses 10,500,000 head of cattle; and France, with a territory much larger, and a population so much more considerable, reckons only 6,700,000. In England, the cultivation of the rutabaga, the Swedish turnip, has increased its territorial revenue a milliard (of livres); while France still pays annually forty millions for silk from Piedmont and Lombardy, which she might grow on her own soil.—pp. 448, 449.

This unenterprising and unimproving routine of agriculture does not prevail uniformly throughout France. Some districts have set the example of a bolder and more skilful cultivation; and their success is so great as to afford the highest encouragement.

If we would only go and see the degree of perfection to which agriculture has attained in the departments of the North, of the Drôme and the Isère, we should at once be convinced of the progress which still remains to be made, and the increase of produce of which it is capable; since the hectare of land, of prime quality, is worth, in certain parts of the Ardèche, for instance, 12,000 francs, in that of Morbihan 400 francs. However distressing, then, the condition of the cultivators may yet be, their sons ought to be very cautious how they abandon agriculture for any other employment, art or profession; for the chances of profit are precisely in proportion to the progress which is still to be made.—p. 167.

M. Girardin's plan for the improvement of the agriculture of France embraces the instruction both of the laborer and the proprietor. He would make the first principles of agriculture, and of all the sciences which bear on agriculture, part of the primary education which is to be bestowed, at the cost of the state, on the whole laboring poor; he would raise agriculture to an honorable profession, and substitute—among the sons, at least, of the smaller farmers and proprietors—a strictly professional education for that of the universities, which still retains, in his opinion, too much of the old classical system for this order.

In my opinion, he observes, the government of France cannot occupy itself too actively in promoting a taste for agriculture; it cannot develop it too soon. The greater the general and manifest tendency to abandon husbandry for manufactures, on account of the higher wages

of the latter, or even for the liberal professions, in order to the gratification of vanity; the greater tendency to prefer a residence in towns to that of the rural communes—the higher is the importance of diverting and combating it by good books, placed in the hands of children, which will give them at once the desire of remaining in the condition in which they have been born, and of improving that condition; which will teach them very early how precarious are the wages of manufactures, how dangerous are the illusions held out by the liberal professions, and what horrible misery is concealed under the luxury of great cities; which may impress upon them most profoundly the true feeling of *conservatism and progression*: for a horror of the wisest innovations, a contempt for the most judicious methods of perfecting the ordinary processes, form, in general, the agricultural creed of the laborers, and education alone can change them.—p. 46.

Those in our own country, who interest themselves in the education of the poor, may derive some useful suggestions from M. Girardin—leaving entirely apart the question of classical education, as concerns our higher orders. The education should, as far as possible, be adapted to the future prospects and situation of the child. Whatever general knowledge is superadded to that moral and religious instruction, of which all alike stand in need, should be varied according to local circumstances. While our manufacturing poor might be wisely taught the elements of mechanics, of chemistry, as applied to the arts, and other obvious branches of science, as well as, perhaps, a wider sphere of general information, including, in our opinion, the first principles of political economy—of wages, profits, capital—our peasantry would be more attractively and more usefully taught all that relates to cottage-economy, gardening, the keeping of domestic beasts and fowls, bees, the first elements of botany and vegetable physiology, and those other elementary parts of knowledge which our author suggests for the villagers of France.

M. Girardin would of course give a much higher education, in the same branches of knowledge, to the landed proprietors,—a class which, as it actually exists, may, we presume, be described as something between our resident country gentlemen and our yeomanry. The present system of university education he considers altogether unsuited to their future, and, as he would wish, more permanent occupation.

It is among the sons of proprietors in easy circumstances that our university education makes, perhaps, the greatest number of victims; for it rarely happens that they are not sent hastily and without reflection to a college, from which they come forth, without guide, without experience, without superintendence, to follow, with the throng of youths of their own age, the course of a faculty, to run the risk of bad company in a populous city, to embarrass their fortune with debts, and injure their health with excess; and that, instead of receiving a good rural education, from the age of fifteen to twenty, which would qualify them to become the bailiffs (*régisseurs*), or farmers of their parents, to manage their patrimony, to improve it, and to set the example of good methods of cultivation, applied with judgment to the land; to place

themselves, in short, at the head of a new generation, and of agricultural reform, which can alone, in France, put an end to the general beggary (*prolétariat*), to the demoralization of the people, to the disorganization of classes, to the pernicious influence of Paris and the great cities, to political dissensions and social revolutions. When population is on the increase, and production is not, misery alone is making progress; when manufactures are embarrassed, and artisans are thrown out of work, revolutions are prepared by riots: for the power which represses them for a time, only suffers them to gather strength for a greater and more formidable outbreak. * * *

The proprietors,—proceeds M. Girardin, in another eloquent passage,—who do not manage their own property, who abandon the labors of the field for the idleness of towns, are traitors to their own interests: they deprive the land, from which they live, of the capital which is necessary to render it fertile; they abandon the elections to intrigue; they isolate themselves from all improvements; they desert the liberties which they ought to defend; they compel the municipal councils to recruit themselves with none but men without instruction or intelligence, who, in their turn, exclude them, when by accident they are present to take a part in the business; they are canvassers for paid offices, and disdain those of mayors; they reach, at length, the legislative tribune without having formed themselves, by municipal discussions, for parliamentary debates; there, ignorant and mute, they listen to the speakers, and, without respect or influence, increase the number of passive members; they sit without being able to trace out with accuracy any abuse of the government; they vote the budget, which they disapprove, but know not how to reduce, and quit the chamber to accuse it of ignorance and incapacity.—p. 187.

These are singular revelations of the present workings of French society: they are evidently from the pen of a clever and practised writer trained in the school of journalism, and therefore, perhaps, to be received with some caution: but if the statement be true, that four-fifths of the whole population of thirty-three millions are concerned in the cultivation of the soil (p. 45); if six millions of these are landed proprietors (p. 191); and if the more astounding assertion be correct, or approximate to the truth, that of these thirty-three millions scarcely a *thirtieth part can read* (p. 53), it is impossible to deny either the paramount importance of the subject to the interests of France, and through France to Europe, or the justice of the author's principles,—the wisdom and necessity of elevating, by any means in the power of the government and of the chambers, the agricultural part of the community. It is the old policy, in fact, as our author justly observes, of Sully himself. One, however, of the coactive measures of M. Girardin,—the disfranchisement of all voters, from a given period, who cannot read and write, whatever may be its expediency, is, we suspect, far too wide and sweeping to be listened to with any favor by the imperfectly educated representatives of utterly uneducated constituents.

France already possesses a few establishments expressly designed for agricultural instruction. We shall notice the most important of these

when we arrive at that part of his work which treats on professional education. But before we leave altogether that which belongs to primary, and strictly popular education, we are inclined to make a few extracts from his chapter on schools for females, of which he estimates the importance very highly,—not too highly, in our opinion, in the present state of France, where every thing which can give dignity and solidity to the female character is among those regenerating influences, to which alone we can look with rational and sober hope. We know not on what authority M. Girardin makes this striking assertion :

There is no instance of a mother who can read and write, whose children are not likewise able to read and write. If it is impossible for the mother to send them to school, however laborious her occupation, she always finds time to teach them herself. This is not the case with the fathers, who, whether educated themselves or not, are utterly indifferent to the education of their children, and very rarely take the trouble of instructing them themselves, or even of ascertaining what progress they may make in the school.

He adds: "To give instruction to girls is to open a school in the bosom of every family; open, then, a school, or at least a class, for them in every commune." We are sorry to inform Miss Martineau, that M. Girardin, with all his respect for the importance of the sex, protests against what is called the "emancipation of women." In theory, at least, notwithstanding Lady Morgan, *man*, in France, still aspires to be the *master*. Ridicule, our author does not scruple to assert, in utter condemnation of his countrymen for their levity and want of genuine philosophy, would be an insurmountable obstacle to all these lofty schemes of female independence: he uses even this gravely condescending tone, that the law of France, "in harmony with nature and the advancement of civilization, does not enslave women; it respects and protects them."

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The second part of M. Girardin's work treats on a subject, with which, we apprehend, the ordinary reader is but little acquainted—the secondary, supplementary, or university education of France. This is, to a certain extent, under the authority and influence of the central government; directly or indirectly through the communes. Our author includes under the general head of "university education," first, the secondary education (as contradistinguished from the primary or popular); and, secondly, the superior. The *secondary* education is that of the royal and communal colleges, who prepare for the *superior* education in the five faculties of theology, law, medicine, science and letters. Both the royal and communal colleges, as we have said, are under the public authorities; but private establishments, distinguished by peculiar success in moral and religious training, or by the activity and solidity of their studies, may be converted into colleges "de plein exercice." They remain private establishments with the privileges of state institutions.

There are forty-two royal colleges, five in Paris, and one in each of

the following cities ;—Amiens, Angers, Auch, Avignon, Bastia, Besançon, Bourdeaux, Bourges, Caen, Cahors, Clermont, Dijon, Douai, Grenoble, Le Puy, Limoges, Lyon, Marseilles, Metz, Montpellier, Moulins, Nancy, Nantes, Nîmes, Orleans, Pau, Poitiers, Pontivy, Rennes, Reims, Rhodéz, Rouen, Strasburg, Toulouse, Tournon, Tours and Versailles. The communal colleges are 308 in number, all in connexion with the central academy of the department, but varying in number, according to the extent and population of the department.

In the royal colleges the pupils receive the following religious instruction :—in the first year, the History of the Old Testament ; in the second, that of the New. Besides these, they learn the Catechism of the diocese, in which they are examined once a week by the almoner. The pupils of the sixth, fifth, fourth and third classes receive instruction in the Catechism every Thursday before mass. In the second class, the rhetoric class, and the two classes of philosophy, a *Conference* on religion is substituted for the Catechism. All the classes learn some verses of the Scriptures every day in French, Latin, or Greek. They likewise learn, on Saturday, the Gospel for the following Sunday : the elementary classes in French, the sixth to the third in Latin, and the higher classes in Greek. In the elementary class, besides the sacred history, are taught French and Latin grammar, geography, arithmetic and writing. In the classes of letters, the professor teaches to the sixth the sacred history, the *Selecta à Profanis ac de Viris illustribus urbis Romæ*, fables of Phædrus compared with *La Fontaine*, ancient geography, mythology—writing and arithmetic continued. Fifth class : selections from Justin and Cornelius Nepos, and of the *Epistolæ ad Familiares* of Cicero ; the elements of Greek, fables of Æsop—ancient history, writing and arithmetic continued ; living languages as determined by each college. Fourth class : in the morning, selections from Q. Curtius and Livy, Cicero's treatises *De Amicitia* and *De Senectute*, selections from the *Cyropædia* ; in the evening, selections from the *Eclogues* and *Georgics* of Virgil, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and *History of Rome*. Linear drawing, and drawing the human figure begin in this class, and are continued in the rest. Third class : selections from Sallust and Tacitus, the Latin and Greek moralists ; in the evening, selections from the *Æneid* and the *Iliad*, *History of the Middle Ages*, Latin versification ; French poetry illustrative of their studies is learned by heart. Second class : selections from Cicero's *Orations* and the *Iliad* ; in the evening, selections from Horace and the *Æneid*, modern history (both this and the *History of the Middle Ages* with special reference to the *History of France*). Preparatory class of rhetoric : composition in French and Latin narrative. Class of rhetoric : morning class, *Conciones à Veteribus Historicis Excerptæ*, selections from the *Orations* of Cicero and Demosthenes ; in the evening, *Conciones Poeticæ* and selections from the Greek tragedies, the principles of eloquence and the rules of composition ; selections from French writers and dramatic poets learned by heart. Instruction in the sciences occupies the two last years. First year : the two first parts of philosophy, *viz.*, first, logic and metaphysics ; second, elements of mathematics, *i. e.*, higher arithmetic, geom-

etry, rectilinear trigonometry, first notions of algebra. Second year: the last part of philosophy, a course of ethics, the law of nature and of nations; higher mathematics, comprehending statics, algebra and its application to geometry; the physical sciences, chemistry and the elements of astronomy. Every pupil must produce, before his admission, his register of birth and of baptism, if he has not been confirmed, or received his first communion; *certificate of vaccination*; certificate of good conduct from the head of the school to which he has belonged before. The expenses are as follow:—The *pension* in the royal colleges of Paris is 1000 francs, including books as well as tuition, but there is an additional payment of 45 francs to the university. In the provinces, the pension is 750 francs in the royal colleges of the first class, 650 in the second, 600 in the third, but there is a further payment of 50 francs for books and expenses. Each royal college has thirty bursarships or scholarships, which are differently divided into whole, three-quarters and half of the pension. They are usually given to the inhabitants of the department. The *trousseau*—the dress, linen, plate and certain articles of furniture with which each pupil is to provide himself—is regulated by a peremptory statute. The course of the studies in the communal colleges is very similar, though perhaps not quite equal to that in the royal colleges.

The books and editions used in all the colleges must be approved by the council of the university. These are selections from most of the classic authors, and *editiones expurgatæ* of some. The university has not given its sanction to any complete or methodical work, or course of moral or metaphysical theology, but the professors are recommended to select what may appear to them best and most suited to their purpose from the following writers:—Among the ancients, the Dialogues of Plato, the Analytics of Aristotle, the philosophical works of Cicero. Among the moderns:—Bacon, *De Augmentis Scientiarum et Novum Organon*; la Méthode de Descartes—ses Méditations; le chapitre de Pascal sur la Manière de prouver la Vérité et de l'exposer aux Hommes; la Logique de Port-Royal; l'Essai sur l'Entendement Humain de Locke; les Nouveaux Essais sur l'Entendement Humain de Leibnitz—sa Théodicée; Recherche de la Vérité, par Malebranche—ses Entretiens Métaphysiques; De l'Existence de Dieu, par Fénelon; De l'Existence de Dieu, par Clarke; la Logique de Wolf; l'Introduction de la Philosophie, de Gravesende; Principes du Droit Naturel, par Burlamaqui; Traité des Systèmes, l'Art de Penser, la Logique de Condillac; Lettres d'Euler à une Princesse d'Allemagne; Essai Analytique sur les Facultés de l'Ame, par Charles Bonnet.

The *superior education* comprehends the five faculties in which are conferred the degrees of bachelor, licentiate and doctor—Theology, Law, Medicine, Letters and Sciences. There are seven faculties of Theology established at Paris, Aix, Bourdeaux, Lyons, Rouen, at Strasburg for the Protestants of the Confession of Augsburg (Lutherans), at Montauban for the Protestants of the Helvetic Confession (Calvinists). The following courses are given in the faculty of Theology at Paris,—at the Sorbonne: doctrine (dogme), morals, the Scriptures, ecclesiastical history

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and discipline, pulpit eloquence. Only a part of these courses are given at the provincial faculties. To be a bachelor in theology a man must be twenty years old, be a bachelor of letters, have attended the theological courses for three years, and maintained a thesis in a manner satisfactory to the faculty. The examination for a licentiate in theology is the same as for holy orders. For the doctor's degree, dissertations, theses, and a public lecture are required. In the Protestant faculty of Strasburg are six professorships: doctrine, evangelic morals, exegesis, pulpit eloquence, ecclesiastical history, doctrines of the Helvetic (Augsburg?) Confession. It is among the regulations, that as the knowledge of the language and literature of Germany is becoming more and more necessary to the theologian, the scholars must prove that they have this qualification before they proceed to their degree. The examinations for degrees are public. In the Protestant faculty at Montauban are likewise six professorships of theology, properly so called: three of evangelical morals, doctrine, ecclesiastical history, three of philosophy, of Hebrew, of "haute Latinité" and Greek.

There are nine faculties of Law: at Paris, Aix, Caen, Dijon, Grenoble, Poitiers, Rennes, Strasburg, and Toulouse. The time of attendance is three years, with a further special course for the doctor's degree. The study of the first year is the Institutes of Justinian and the civil code; of the second, civil code, criminal legislation, code of civil and criminal proceedings, the Pandects; of the third, civil code, commercial code, code of magistracy (*droit administratif*). The special course for the doctor's degree is in the history of law, law of nations, constitutional law of France. Of Medicine there are three faculties: at Paris, Montpellier and Strasburg. The departments are distributed into circles of faculties under these three centres. There are likewise secondary schools of medicine in many of the large cities. The lectures must be attended for four years; and there are five examinations, which include all the branches of medical science. The candidate may proceed as doctor in surgery or doctor in medicine, or, on certain conditions, in both. The pupil in the faculty of medicine must be a bachelor of letters; by a regulation of the year 1836, he must likewise be a bachelor of science. This regulation has had the remarkable effect of diminishing, in a very considerable degree, the number of students, which, in the three faculties and secondary schools, was 1522; in 1837, 744, and in 1838-9, 596. The respectability of the profession, justly observes M. Girardin, is likely to gain rather than lose by this defalcation in numbers. There are also schools for pharmacy established in the same cities as the three faculties.

There are *seven* (nine?) faculties of Sciences: at Paris, Bourdeaux, Caen, Dijon, Grenoble, Lyons, Montpellier, Strasburg, Toulouse. The faculty of Sciences in Paris consists of two branches: mathematics and physics. The mathematical has three courses: the differential and integral calculus, mechanics, astronomy. The physical has four courses; chemistry, mineralogy, and geology, botany and vegetable physiology, zoology and physiology. There is a further first course of general and experimental physics. The examination for the baccalaureate differs accor-

ding as the student intends to follow the profession of medicine, or to confine himself to science. To be admitted into the faculty of science it is necessary to be a bachelor of letters. The payments, we should observe, for all these courses are strictly regulated by the ruling authorities.

Of Letters—which we see is considered the primary faculty, the study of which, and the degree are necessary for admission into the others—there are faculties at Paris, Besançon, Bourdeaux, Caen, Dijon, Strasburg, Toulouse. In the faculty at Paris there are nine courses: Greek literature, Latin eloquence, Latin poetry, French eloquence, French poetry, Philosophy, History of Philosophy, Ancient and Modern History, Ancient and Modern Geography. It is decided by chance in which of these branches the candidate for the bachelor's degree is to be examined. The nine branches are divided into three lists, and one list drawn from the urn, and the candidate examined in the three subjects it contains. The examination lasts three quarters of an hour. To be a bachelor in letters the youth must be sixteen years old, and must have attended a certain number of courses. There is a normal school, it should be added, at Paris (Rue St. Jacques, 115), to provide instructors and professors for all academies connected with the University of France. It is under the especial control of the minister of public instruction.

The *collegiate* education of France may, as to the age of the pupils and the kind of instruction, correspond with our great *public schools*. With the exception of the philosophical, and perhaps the rhetoric classes, if the program is to be taken as the maximum of attainment, they would fall below our Eton, Harrow or Rugby. The national literature is made more decidedly a part of the system; but the classical, which as with us is the groundwork of the whole, does not appear to reach so high a standard. If indeed we may judge from their literature, the study of Greek is at a low ebb in France. Many of the most distinguished writers, we will not say condescend but seem reduced to quote the Latin translations of Greek authors. The name of Letronne ranks very high, and that of Boissonade is well known, but these scholars stand almost alone. The *Faculties* may be considered in some respects to correspond with our *Universities*. But our schools and colleges are an inseparable part of our national institutions. They have grown out of, and tended to form our national character almost as much as our laws and constitution; they are irregular, unsystematic, infinitely varied according to the impulses and necessities of the times; they slowly conform to the more profound changes, while, at the same time, they resist the momentary fluctuations of opinion; from a high classical tone they descend, by successive gradations, till they are met by schools (in general private establishments, but which are now partially commenced in connection with the church and public institutions) of a more mercantile and practical character. When they are private, the pupils are liable to be the victims of shallow pretension, superficial show and bold speculation, which impose upon fond and weak-minded parents; but in general the practical good sense of the country refuses to be misled, to any great extent, on a subject of such vital importance. We have thus some of the dangers and inconveniences,

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but we have all the advantages of freedom—the constant self-adaptation to the habits and wants of the people.

But our universities cannot be said *strictly* to correspond to the Faculties of France, as, though in theory we still grant degrees in law and medicine, as well as in arts and theology, the professional education in the two former departments is scarcely commenced in Oxford or Cambridge. It is another and most important intermediate step between the school and the world. But the inestimable privilege of our universities is their total independence of the government. It is the right, it is the bounden duty of the French government to extend its authority over the higher as well as the lower branches of education, because, without the impulse and without the control of the government, it would scarcely exist; but for a community like that of England, where there is perfect freedom but no equality, richly endowed universities are at once the consequence and the safeguard of our most important national institutions.

Our business, however, is not with the educational system of England, but with that of France. The two great evils which M. Girardin—and a much greater man than M. Girardin, M. Guizot himself—seems to have long ago apprehended with his calm sagacity, are the centralization and the uniformity. This centralization has arisen out of the necessity of the case. The uniformity of education has appeared, perhaps, to the hasty and inexperienced observer, the best guaranty for political equality; but if it may produce political, it cannot produce social equality. It may give to all an equal right, an equal desire, in a certain sense an equal chance of fortune and distinction; but where there is not fortune and distinction for all, it cannot give them to all. It sends the whole youth forth on the same few narrow and crowded roads, and prevents them from forming new roads, which at least would advance many to the same end. Of the immense mass of persons in France—whether of proprietors, so much increased by the circumstances of the last half-century, by the division and subdivision of the large estates of the church and of the nobility, or of successful mercantile men who have made a certain fortune, and are able, either without any or at some sacrifice, to give their sons a collegiate education—the greater part either consider that they have done their duty, or are unable to do more. They cast them loose to follow one of the liberal professions, the law or medicine (the church, we fear, has few attractions for this class), or to gain a precarious livelihood by the public press, or to solicit (long, perhaps, and vainly) employment in a public office. Agriculture and commerce are repudiated as beneath young men who are at one bound to overleap many steps in the social scale, to start at once to eminence, perhaps to the foremost seats in the Chamber of Deputies, or the rank and emoluments of ministers, or at least are to shine in the world of letters, and take rank among the *millionnaires* of “Journalism.” As to those whose more easy circumstances enable them to give their sons the luxury of a classical education—a luxury, and indeed a generous and noble one, which from our different social system, the larger numbers of persons of rank and fortune, the greater extent of our liberal professions, including our still

richly-endowed and still daily expanding church, must, among us, be far more general—they are too apt to leave their sons utterly ignorant of the management, at all events utterly incapable of the improvement of their estates and fortunes. But if the sons of this wealthier class, thus altogether emancipated from parental control, are content to cast their lives on one throw, to sacrifice the ease and respectability of their manhood and age to a wild youth of vanity and folly—this is but the usual temptation of rank and wealth committed to young and irresponsible hands—temptations perhaps more dangerous from the greater tendency of the French to gather to one brilliant focus in Paris, where there must be more than ordinary prodigality and excess to create that sensation which is the ambition of this section of *la jeune France*. It is the far larger class of youths, the children of parents by no means in easy circumstances, who, in misjudging but natural tenderness, have spared no cost to give their sons a classical education, under the erroneous conviction that such an education must lead to fortune—it is these who are the *victims* of the present system.

When breakers make the approach to a coast or a harbor dangerous, the government sets up a beacon : here there is no warning to the parents of the dangers to which they expose the destiny of their children ; no voice proclaims to them that an education, too much the same for all classes, imprudently and indiscriminately given, casts a vast number of adventurers upon society, and perpetuates, in the bosom of the country, agents destructive of that well-being which arises out of peace and order.

Poor youths ! separated from the multitude by education, at a distance from the upper ranks by want of fortune, crushed in their intermediate sphere by countless competitors, and obliged, notwithstanding all this, to wear the outward appearance of easy circumstances, from a lingering feeling of respect for the education they have received—these unhappy youths, if they are ambitious, of capacity, and courage, have no other prospect but political convulsions ; if they are laborious, modest, they resign themselves to accept some small employment of clerks (*commis*)—generally worse paid than artisans or day laborers, above which the social hierarchy appears to place them, merely that it may be more oppressive and exacting towards them.

With the useful design of setting up a beacon not merely to warn the navigator of his danger, but to guide him into the port, M. Girardin has compiled his “*Guide des Familles*,” which fills one-half of the volume before us. The object is to substitute a good professional education for the more general system of instruction ; to induce parents to consider the character and disposition of their children before they finally decide on their destination ; to inform them what institutions actually exist in France, in which they may qualify their sons for their future course of life ; and, by showing how insufficient these establishments are for the wants of the country, to induce the government and the legislature to engraft such institutions, on a much wider and more general scale, upon the education of the people.

In this part of the work a separate chapter is assigned to each profession or pursuit, and the institutions connected with it. M. Girardin states what he considers the natural qualifications requisite for success in each line, with the means which all may, or ought to be able to command for their improvement.

1. Agriculture.—The agriculturists are divided into two classes: husbandmen, and farmers of their own estates (*cultivateurs*, and *propriétaires agronomes*).

The natural qualifications for an agriculturist of the first class are strength, good sense, patience. The previous acquirements for this, as for all classes, are the primary education both of the lower and superior kind, which the state ought to furnish and enforce on all alike. Their professional education he would make to comprehend book-keeping—(“a husbandman,” he observes, “is a manufacturer of corn and of other commodities: a regular method of keeping accounts is as imperatively required of him as of a shopkeeper”)—the elements of geometry, geology, physics and chemistry; of mechanics, in order to judge of the comparative value of the instruments of agriculture; hydraulics, for the purpose of irrigation; botany, vegetable physiology, zoology, as far as regards the habits and care of domestic animals; the veterinary art, domestic architecture, and every branch of domestic economy. If it be objected that all this knowledge may be, and in England is perhaps, to a certain extent, practically and experimentally learned, or taught by rural tradition, the vast tracts of productive but unimproved land in France prove that there they are neither so taught nor so learned.

There are no institutions whatever in France accessible to the *husbandman*, where he may learn to become a scientific agriculturist. One, it seems, was established at Coëtbo in Morbihan, where both the board and instruction were gratuitous. It differed from Hoffwil in receiving only one class of pupils, who were to be instructed, both theoretically and practically, in all that related to rural concerns. It was also a kind of normal school for agricultural teachers. This establishment, however, has not succeeded.

For the agricultural *proprietors*, farmers of their own estates, M. Girardin would require, as previous qualifications, a spirit of order and of observation, perseverance and foresight, and the art of management. Besides the primary education of the first and second class, they should receive a superior elementary instruction, in rural and commercial law, statistics, natural history, breeding and improvement of cattle, rural architecture and mechanics. There are three institutions of this nature in France—of course utterly inadequate to the wants of this large class—but furnishing, in some degree, a model for scientific and experimental schools of agriculture. One is at Grignon, near Néaulphe (Seine et Oise). It is a farm of 500 acres, of very various soil, with wood of different kinds, water-courses, a large lake or piece of water, irrigated water-meadows; all inventions in agricultural implements and machinery are brought to trial; the farm-yard contains every kind of cattle, teams of all sorts and breeds—Swiss, Norman, and cross-breeds of bulls and cows; 1000 head

of sheep, Merinos, English, Artesian, Solognese, Vendomese, with all the cross-breeds; swine of the English, Anglo-American and Anglo-Chinese breeds; threshing-machines of the best kind, a cheese-dairy, a botanic garden, a nursery garden, an orchard and mulberry plantations. The course of instruction lasts two years. In the first year are taught:—1, elementary mathematics applied to mensuration, taking plans and levels; 2, topography and drawing; 3, practical elementary physics and chemistry, practical botany and vegetable physiology, as applied to cultivation and planting; 4, first principles of the veterinary art; 5, rational principles of cultivation and farming; 6, principles of rural economy, employment of capital and internal management of farms. In the second year are taught:—1, principles of husbandry in their application to the art of production and its employment; 2, mathematics, as applied to mechanics and hydraulics, and the elements of astronomy; 3, physics and chemistry applied to the analysis of earths, waters, manures, &c., distillation, and the economical employment of heat; 4, mineralogy and geology, applied to the use of various fossil substances, boring and sinking wells; 5, culture of the kitchen garden and orchard, woodman's craft, and the knowledge of useful or destructive insects; 6, rural architecture, as applied to buildings, roads, water-dams, and drains, &c., making of lime, mortar, cement, &c.; 7, law, as relates to property in lands; 8, principles of *hygiène* for men and animals. All these courses are illustrated by practical experiments, in winter and in summer. The pupils are taught to guide the plough and to use other implements of husbandry, and to study all the details of the internal management. The pupils are free pupils or house-boarders: the first must be twenty, the latter fifteen years old. The *pension* for free pupils is 1500 francs; for house-boarders 1300, with 300 more for a separate apartment. There are twenty-five scholarships of 300 francs given for house-boarders. Each pupil brings his *trousseau*. The Institut Agricole of Roville appears to be a much smaller establishment. That of Grand Jouan (Loire Inférieure) is situated in a department which contains a vast deal of heath and shifting sand. It has a more extensive farm than Grignon; it has 500 hectares of land of every kind of quality: and the object is to bring this into cultivation. It professes to teach—1st, practical, 2d, theoretic agriculture. There are courses of lectures apparently as extensive, though differing in some parts from those of Grignon. The expense is 250 francs per quarter. The pupils remain two, three, or four years, according to their capacity and progress. There is also a course of agriculture in the Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers at Paris, and an Ecole Royale Forestière at Nancy.

We pass over the chapters on Arts et Métiers, or mechanics and artisans, that on Trading and Merchants, and the two professions of Law and Medicine, all of which contain much useful information and much sensible advice. We turned with curiosity to the head of Letters, and with anxiety to that of Theology—the clergy. On the former, however, M. Girardin is unexpectedly brief; his advice is almost summed up in one old truism—viz., that in this course of life “mediocrity is synonymous with misery.” The great school for this class is the College of France in Paris,

which unites names of the highest European fame both in science and literature :—In science—Binet, Lacroix, Biot, Savart, Magendie, Thénard, Elie de Beaumont ; in Greek—Boissonade and Letronne ; in Oriental Literature—Des Granges, Stanislas Julien and Bournouf ; with Michelet on History and Lherminier on Law.

M. Girardin appears deeply penetrated with the importance of religion, and of the influence of the clergy on the general educational regeneration of France. But it is impossible not to feel that he writes in a tone of discouragement and despondency. Those, he says, who estimate earthly enjoyments at their real value, may render great service to their country by devoting great talents to the Christian ministry.

There can be no doubt what would be the wise, the Christian course, for the clergy of France at the present juncture. To stand aloof in resolute dignity, and in secluded devotion to the purely spiritual part of their mission, and refuse to mingle with any of the contending factions of the state—to be neither Bourbonist nor Republican ; to repudiate, with the same fixed determination, a La Mennais, with his turbulent (he calls it *evangelical*) democracy, on the one hand, and on the other, a school, whose leaders we respect too highly to name in connexion with that restless zealot ; who themselves enamored of the poetry—the poetry in stone and on canvass—of the thirteenth century, think it possible to reconstruct, in the present day, the vast and universal Cathedral of Romish worship, at the same time that they would bring back much of the power of the ancient monarchy. On one part of this great question, the events of the last twenty-five years, and the unpopular position in which the clergy of France now stand, with a large and powerful part of the community, have read a painful but instructive lesson. Nothing can have been more unhappy or more fatal to the real interests of religion than the identification of the church of France with the ultra-royalist party. It was natural, perhaps, that those before whose memory still swam the remote but ineffaceable images of the Revolution—in whose ears were yet ringing the feeble cries of their brethren plunged into the river—or who had hardly dared to avert their sight, in the days when the thousand eyes of suspicion catered for the guillotine, from the orgies of the goddess of Reason—it was natural for these to consider the only hope of religion as resting on the strength of the throne ; it was natural, it was pardonable—but still, as a question not merely of common expediency, but of high Christian prudence, it was much to be regretted.

However they may secretly deplore it, it is absolutely necessary that the clergy of France, to fulfil their beneficent mission with any hope of success, must acquiesce in the existing order of things. Without lowering themselves to a vulgar democratic tone, and speaking no language but that of a pure, earnest and enlightened Christianity, they may show that the blessings of their religion are entirely independent of and superior to political circumstances. By going back to the original and vital essence of Christianity, the establishment of principles, the forming dis-

positions, bridling passions, disciplining affections, without immediate regard to the circumstances of the times or the prevailing prejudices; by viewing their flocks as Christians and responsible beings before God, rather than as royalists or republicans, they will, in fact, far better attain their worldly end—promote good order and law, with more remote, perhaps, but surer efficacy.

With regard to education, the course of the clergy appears perfectly clear—to befriend and advance it by all their influence. It is quite manifest that in France it cannot and will not be placed altogether under their control; as a body, we must acknowledge that we do not think that they are themselves sufficiently advanced to be intrusted with such a charge; they have enough to do in their own more important department; their position in the new order of society, their duties, their poverty, their yet suspected influence must leave them no higher an office than auxiliaries, rather than directors, of the popular instruction; but by becoming useful, zealous and sincere auxiliaries, by maintaining not merely a good understanding, but a feeling of sympathy and concord with the schoolmaster, they will obtain a directing and controlling power, the more efficient because less felt; by showing no unworthy jealousy, they will secure, in the schoolmaster, a friend instead of a rival, who, far from refusing them a share in the attention, in the respect, in the heart of his pupils, will perceive how his own lessons are elevated, improved, by being blended with religion.

But we must not pursue this subject: we will only add that M. Girardin's book likewise contains an account of the military schools of France, for the navy as well as the army, and the engineering. These, we doubt not, are excellent. He has one chapter devoted to the instruction of public men, from whom he demands qualifications which we fear might, if severely exacted, repel many who aspire to be statesmen in England as well as in France. The aptitude for this high mission is *only* "esprit vaste—jugement sûr—présence d'esprit—volonté ferme—caractère conciliant—haute moralité." What would be the effect of the application of this test to the cabinets of Europe? M. Girardin considers that professional instruction for public life exists in Paris,—"*à peu de chose près—mais rien n'est coordonné, rien n'est obligatoire.*" The principal sources of instruction for his young statesman would be the higher lectures delivered in the College of France. In the following list there are some names which would command universal respect:

Ainsi l'Economie Politique, que devraient savoir également le chef du bureau, le sous-préfet, le préfet, le conseiller d'état, le professeur de l'université, le magistrat, l'officier, le marin, le diplomate, le ministre, tous les fonctionnaires publics enfin, à quelque branche de l'administration qu'ils appartiennent, est professée au Collège de France, les Mardi et Samedi, par M. Rossi; et au Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers, par M. Blanqui, aîné.

La Philosophie est professée à la Faculté des Lettres, par M. Valette, suppléant de M. Laromiguière; par M. Poret, suppléant de M. Cousin; et par M. Jouffroy, suppléant de M. Royer-Collard.

L'Histoire est professée au Collège de France, les Lundi et Jeudi, par M. Michelet ; à la Faculté des Lettres, par M. Lacretelle, et par M. Lenormant, suppléant de M. Guizot.

L'Histoire des Législations comparées est professée au Collège de France, les Mardi et Samedi, par M. Lherminier.

L'Histoire du Droit de la Nature et des Gens est professée, les Lundi et Vendredi, au Collège de France, par M. de Portetz, et à la Faculté de Droit de Paris, par M. P. Royer-Collard.

Le Droit Administratif est professée à la Faculté de Droit de Paris, par M. le Baron de Gérando, conseiller d'état.

L'Histoire du Droit est professée à la Faculté de Droit de Paris, par M. Poncelet.

Le Droit Constitutionnel Français est professée à la Faculté de Droit de Paris, par M. Rossi.

L'Eloquence Française est professée à la Faculté des Lettres, par M. Gérusez, suppléant de M. Villemain.

La Géographie est professée à la Faculté des Lettres, par M. Guignaut.—pp. 397, 398.

M. Girardin and others would propose to erect a new faculty under the appellation of " Faculté des Sciences Politiques et Administratives."

We have thus laid before our readers the present state of education in France, with what appear to us, in many respects, wise and enlightened suggestions for its improvement. As to the exact truth of the statements of M. Girardin, and the practicability of his measures, we are content to wait the sounder and better informed judgment of that calm and sagacious statesman who now takes the lead in the administration of France. Often as the noble lines of Virgil have been cited, and sometimes on unworthy occasions, we are so struck with the justice of their application to M. Guizot at the present juncture that we cannot but recall them to the minds of our readers :

*Ac veluti magno in populo quum sæpe coorta est
Seditio, sævitque animis ignobile vulgus ;
Jamque faces et saxa volant ; furor arma ministrat :
Tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si fortè virum quem
Conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant ;
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.*

But the storm is lulled, not allayed : the depths of the ocean are yet, and must be still, we fear, for some time, in a state of angry and dangerous fermentation. The only permanent change in national character can be wrought by national education. To this subject the penetrating mind of M. Guizot, enlightened by the study of mankind in the pages of history, has been especially devoted. To him we look with confidence that all will be done, and well done, which the circumstances of the times, the national character and the condition of the people permit to be achieved by an upright and patriotic minister.

ARTICLE IX.

THE SCIENCES IN FRANCE:—THE INSTITUTE.

Translated and Condensed from an Article in "La Revue des deux Mondes."

By the Junior Editor.

EXPLANATORY NOTE.

THE following article is taken from two "Letters to an American," which were published, some months since, in *La Revue des deux Mondes*. The author is anonymous; but we have the assurance of the editor of that excellent periodical,—the ablest literary journal, by far, which is issued at Paris,—that he is amply qualified for his undertaking. The form of the original communication is evidently assumed as a matter of convenience. The real object of the writer is not so much to unfold the past history and present condition of the Institute, as to call the attention of the rulers, the scholars and the people of France to facts and considerations of great and immediate interest. Hence, as might be expected, portions of his remarks are purely local in their character; while there is a minuteness of detail about other parts of the Letters, which detracts from their value as addressed to Americans. Still they present a better view of the French Institute,—its high aims, its complex machinery, its relations to the public, in short, its merits and demerits,—than any thing which we have seen. At the same time, as we should naturally anticipate, they bring under review many facts, which tend to illustrate the progress of science in a country, where she has long distributed her highest honors and her largest rewards. We have concluded, therefore, that we should perform an acceptable service for our readers, by transferring to the Eclectic those portions of the article which are of universal interest. In some instances we have restricted ourselves to a literal translation; frequently, however, we have taken the liberty to exhibit the sentiments of the original, in a condensed form. The facts, arguments and suggestions of this article are all given on the authority of the Review from which it is derived.—J.R. ED.

THE University of Paris, almost as old as the monarchy itself, with all the Academies, was swept away by the Revolution. But such was the activity and vigor of learning in France, that there soon arose, as if by enchantment, institutions the most useful to science, and the most honorable to the country. After the death and dispersion of the Girondins, the Convention, though composed almost entirely of unlettered men, who had fiercely assailed every thing which was exalted and venerable, sud-

denly forgot that all Europe was in arms against them, and decreed at once the creation of the Polytechnic School, the Normal School, the Bureau of Longitude and the Institute. This fact, so honorable to the French character, has received too little attention from historians of this era. It was public opinion which forced a revolutionary government, by no means favorable to learning, to restore our academies and our schools.

The Institute was organized by the law of the 3d of Brumaire in the year IV. Of its members, one hundred and forty-four were to reside in Paris, and an equal number in the rest of France; twenty-four foreigners were admitted as associates. It was divided into three *classes*, the first embracing the physical and mathematical sciences; the second, the moral and political sciences; the third, literature and the fine arts; and each class was divided into sections. Sessions, which were open to all the members of the Institute, were held every month. Vacancies were filled by the whole body. The section, to which the deceased academician belonged, reported five names to its class; the class, after discussing and modifying the list, and arranging the order in which the candidates should be presented, reported to the Institute, one month before the election.

Buonaparte, who hated metaphysics, abolished the class of the Moral and Political Sciences, and divided the remaining classes into four, corresponding to the old academies. Only two of these, the class of the Physical and Mathematical Sciences and that of the Fine Arts, were divided into sections. Vacancies were no longer filled in general assembly; and no election could be valid without the approbation of the First Consul. The general sessions were reduced to four a year. Louis XVIII. decimated the Institute, and restored to the academies their ancient names. By giving them an independent *régime*, he destroyed the unity of the Institute. In 1832, on the proposition of M. Guizot, the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences was restored.

The Institute is now composed of two hundred and thirty titular members, residing in Paris, six Perpetual Secretaries, besides correspondents and foreign associates. The academies are five,—the French Academy, the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, the Academy of the Sciences, the Academy of the Fine Arts and the Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences. The Academy of the Sciences is divided into two classes, the first embracing mathematical, and the second physical science. The first class is again divided into five sections,—Geometry, Mechanics, Astronomy, Geography and Navigation, General Physics. The second class is divided into six sections,—Chemistry, Mineralogy, Botany, Rural Economy and the Veterinary Art, Anatomy and Zoology, Medicine and Surgery. The Academy of the Fine Arts is divided into five sections,—Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, Engraving, Music. The Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences is divided into five sections,—Philosophy, Ethics, Legislation, Political Economy, General History.

There are some evils resulting from this division into sections, but the benefits are very great. The most important business which can come before the academies is the election of titular members. But where the candidate is recommended by a section, his claims are first submitted to

men who are perfectly at home in his department. The report which they present to their associates, and the discussions which follow enable the academy to give an intelligent vote. But where there are no sections, there is neither report nor discussion. The members must either rely on their own knowledge of the candidate, and frequently vote in the dark, or consult their friends, who may lead them astray. The division into sections, moreover, secures a proportionate attention to every branch of learning. Without this arrangement, important fields of inquiry may be overlooked and neglected.

The foreign associates—eight for each academy—are chosen from men of the first attainments in every department of knowledge. To be one of them is a very high honor; and a distinguished scholar once inscribed upon the title-page of his Works: *One of the Foreign Associates of the Academy of the Sciences at Paris, of whom there are but eight.* The correspondents are more numerous. Those connected with the Academy of the Sciences, like the titular members, are divided into sections,—eight being assigned to Geometry, eight to Botany, etc. This academy, in its zeal to encourage our own scholars, is frequently embarrassed in its selections. Indeed a preference is sometimes given to natives, though known to be inferior to their competitors. The Academy of Inscriptions avoids this difficulty, by having two classes of correspondents—national and foreign. In 1827, the number of correspondents allowed to the section of Chemistry was reduced, and those assigned to Physics were increased. In the latter section, however, there has long been a vacancy, with no apparent disposition in the members to fill it; but the chemists cannot reclaim the place, and hence, to the astonishment of the learned, Liebig in Germany, Graham in England, and Balard at Montpellier are excluded from the list of correspondents. There are other vacancies in the Academy of the Sciences which ought to be supplied.

To make a judicious selection of correspondents, there must be a general acquaintance with the labors of foreign scholars. And we may observe in this connection, that if the Institute is to maintain its high rank, and do all in its power to extend its usefulness, it must have constant access to the discoveries, experiments and theories of other countries. Nor is it sufficient that all the important works, published abroad, be found in the library of the Institute; they must be read by the members. But how can the members, absorbed in their own pursuits, distracted by the multifarious demands which are made upon their time, become familiar with all the languages of Europe? How can the same individual examine Melloni's discoveries on radiant heat in Italian, those of Forbes in English, and those of the German philosophers on the same subject? How can he read the proceedings of the academies of Berlin, Stockholm and St. Petersburg,—the communications of Mitscherlich, Berzelius, etc.? In the time of the Caliphs, there was a *college of translators* at Bagdad, whose business it was to open the treasures of every language to the Arabic Academies. Why not annex to the Institute a body of young men, who shall perform a similar office? The translations might be deposited in the library for the use of the members, without being

printed, and a summary of their contents given to the public through the press.

In addition to the requisite facilities for learning the progress of science abroad, the members of the Institute should have the means of pursuing their investigations at home. But who, living out of Paris, supposes that there is no cabinet for physics, and no laboratory for chemistry at the Institute? More than a century ago, Count Marsili established, at his own expense, an Institute of the Sciences at Bologna. Of course, it is not to be compared, in any particular, with the Institute of France. Still it has conferred important benefits upon Science, because the founder provided a cabinet, an observatory, collections in natural history, and suitable facilities in every department of inquiry. A similar plan was contemplated by the law which organized the French Institute; but hitherto it has never been carried into execution. The Academy of the Sciences has appointed a superintendent of its collections; the collections themselves, however, are still to be formed.

The pecuniary encouragement held out to scholars is altogether inadequate. When we survey the different institutions of learning at Paris, we naturally conclude that no other place is so well supplied. But France does more for science than for those who devote themselves to its advancement. The press, indeed, is constantly exclaiming against the salaries and the *pluralities* of scientific men. Still it is undeniably true that learning is poorly rewarded. It is not necessary to dwell on the state of primary instruction in almost every part of France: it is not necessary to appeal to those unfortunate teachers who have scarcely received two hundred francs a year, and have been forced, perhaps, by every species of vexation to abandon their employment. We have only to visit the chosen seat of science, the capital of France, to discover that learning bids fair to become very soon the poorest of all trades, and that most parents will dissuade their sons from entering upon so difficult and laborious a career—one which is sure to issue in a secondary position in society, and a life of hardship and privation.

Never, perhaps, have so many opportunities been offered to distinguished talents to enrich their possessors, as at present. Some physicians and surgeons are receiving fifty, sixty, and even one hundred thousand francs a year, and they leave at death, like Portal and Dupuytren, several millions to their heirs. The success of many painters and engravers is hardly less brilliant: a popular dramatist obtains as large an income: and the fashionable musician is equally fortunate. As to actors, singers and dancers, we know not what limits to set to their receipts. Several lawyers at Paris have become Presidents of the Chamber of Deputies with ten thousand francs a month; others have been made ministers at a pecuniary sacrifice. The successful journalist may also become a minister, unless he prefers to remain as he is. The engineer who builds a good rail-road, the mechanic who makes an improved steam-engine, and the chemist who accelerates some branch of manufacture arrive at distinction by a single bound. The skilful financier becomes a Rothschild or an Aguado. Indeed it is only a few years since a tailor purchased, at the cost of a million of francs, one of the most splendid mansions in Paris. And the man who can make the best coffee or the best cakes is sure to acquire a large fortune.

Nor does the government, as might be expected, offer the requisite encouragement to those pursuits which are neglected by the public. On the contrary, the favor of the state and the favor of the people go hand in hand. For example, the professors in the schools of medicine and law receive a salary which is double or triple that of a professor of the Faculty of the Sciences. The physician and the lawyer have other means of subsistence; but the astronomer and the botanist can do little or nothing to increase their annual stipend. The salary of a professor of the School of the Fine Arts is still more inadequate. Such men as Huyot, David, Rawey, Pradier, Ingres, Vernet, Delaroche receive one hundred *louis* (450 dollars) a year. Those, who devote themselves to philology, archeology and the oriental languages, receive less from the government, than a good teacher of English obtains from the public. Few persons have any conception of the usages to which the professors of the Faculty of the Sciences are obliged to submit. A single fact must suffice. At the close of a trial for a doctorate, the examiners, who have spent several days, perhaps, in reading and correcting a thesis for the press, receive, after an examination of one hour, *fifty sous*! In vain have the professors repeatedly desired that their services may be gratuitous. The rule is explicit, and they are obliged to sign several receipts to obtain the fee.

The Institute itself fares no better. Strangers suppose that the members of the different academies are paid ten or twelve thousand francs a year; and some French journals, that ought to be more accurately informed, represent their salaries as very large. The members of the Academy of the Sciences, most of whom are constantly occupied in preparing reports for the government, etc., receive twelve hundred francs, and, if their attendance at the sessions is regular, three hundred more. The titular members of the Academy of St. Petersburg are paid twelve thousand francs, and hence can devote all their time to the interests of science; but the French academician, unless he has a private fortune or a liberal profession, must resort to *pluralities*. These, however, are the subject of very great complaint. It is curious to observe the indignation of the public against the zoologist or botanist, who fills two chairs of instruction, and has an income of two thousand francs, while the same public is delighted to learn that Mlle. Rachel is in the receipt of sixty thousand francs. What complaints were heard against the equipage of Cuvier! How many calculations have the journals made of his income! It was monstrous that this great man should receive forty thousand francs! And yet, by giving his wonderful powers a different direction, he could have left a much larger patrimony to his family, but France would have lost the glory which his brilliant career has shed upon her history.

As the necessary consequence of this state of things, men, already distinguished as scholars, are obliged to turn aside from those investigations which tend directly to the advancement of science, and confine themselves to pursuits which will secure a livelihood. In addition to the loss of so much valuable time, young men of promise, perceiving the perplexities which harass some of the first names in France, are prevented from consecrating themselves to the higher departments of learning. How many of those young professors of mathematics, who visit the provinces every

year, contribute materially to the progress of knowledge? Receiving too little encouragement from the state, they resort to the business of instruction as a means of support. Here is the grave of talent. Many of our learned men, though possessed of rare gifts, and fitted to make important discoveries, have been constrained to seek employment as teachers. By taking this course, they sometimes obtain an income of twenty-five thousand francs; which is five times the salary of M. Poisson, professor of the Faculty of the Sciences, or of M. Arago, one of the Perpetual Secretaries of the Institute.

The original plan of the Institute aimed at presenting the different branches of learning in perfect harmony, showing thus that science is one, and has for its object the discovery of the true, the beautiful and the good, wherever they may be found. But the bonds which held together the several academies have been gradually relaxed, and they have now lost their primitive unity. Before the Restoration, the Classes of the Institute formed a closely related and undivided body. But after that event, certain members of the class of French Language and Literature, remembering that they were the legitimate heirs of Messieurs Les Quarante [the old French Academy], began to put on airs, and to desire a divorce from their less nobly born associates. Sharp discussions arose; and, though the name of *Institute* was retained, it was in spite of an opposition which longed to efface this last vestige of its republican origin. The Restoration drove from the Institute several distinguished scholars, and supplied their places, by *ordonnance*, with men who had the weakness to accept of an appointment unworthy of their talents. The attitude of the French Academy, together with the attempts of the government to control the elections of the Institute, induced the Academy of the Sciences to trust to its own resources, the favor it enjoyed with the public, and, especially, to those expedients which the new liberal movement suggested.

The most eventful of these expedients was *publicity*. At first the ordinary sessions of all the academies were private. The Academy of the Sciences admitted strangers of distinction, temporarily in Paris, and men whose labors had been judged worthy of a place in the Repertory of *Savants Etrangers*. This body, small but select, was competent to understand and appreciate the proceedings of the regular members; and from its numbers, almost every vacancy was supplied. Such an auditory was sufficient for the substantial glory of the Academy; and the most illustrious scholars, Laplace, Cuvier, etc., earnestly contended for this *demi-publicity*. But the course of the government defeated their efforts. When the nomination of Fourier was met with a veto, when it was seen that the *congrégation* intermeddled with the filling of every vacancy, the members became alarmed, and threw themselves into the arms of calculating men, who, seizing the occasion to extend their own influence, invoked the public and the press to the rescue of academic liberty. At every election, the excitement was intense and universal. The doors of the Institute were besieged by a throng, waiting to learn which of the candidates,—the nominee of the court or of the opposition,—was successful. After the contest had closed, the journals detailed the incidents of the strife, award-

ing commendation to the liberal party and abuse to their opponents. It was at this time that the leading members of the Academy, by not suspending their labors and throwing themselves boldly into the struggle for independence, lost the opportunity of securing their permanent ascendancy. In consequence of this mistake, patrons and protectors arose, men who soon obtained an influence in the Academy and a reputation with the public, to which their merits could never have raised them.

At the beginning of the controversy, a few persons were admitted to the sessions by special favor; but the number of such cases gradually increased, till, at length, the doors were thrown wide open. Journalists were solicited to enter and receive the most flattering attentions. To accommodate the public, a new hall was fitted up, the arrangements of which were made with particular reference to this new auditory. The final step to complete publicity was the official publication, at considerable expense, of the *Comptes Rendus* of the sessions. Through this channel, many communications are given to the world which are altogether unworthy to receive the patronage of the Institute. Indeed, the disposition which is to be made of this journal is a deeply interesting inquiry. There is reason to apprehend, that hereafter it may supersede every other mode of publication; and that profound and valuable essays will give place to hasty and sometimes ill-digested sketches.

But what, it may be asked, has induced the Academy to enter upon a path so untried and perilous? In the first place, a mysterious Providence has thinned the ranks of its brightest names; within the last ten years, Laplace, Cuvier, Legendre, Fourier, Fresnel, Jussieu, Ampère and Dulong have finished their labors. Deprived of its former leaders, it has abandoned the helm to the pilots who have seized it, without resistance or complaint. In the second place, the publicity of its proceedings has reacted on the direction and character of its labors. The desire of obtaining the applause of the galleries has seduced learning from her former heights; the more profound investigations, once so popular with this body, have lost their pre-eminence, and relinquished the palm to lower pursuits. The present rage for *useful* knowledge has contributed to the same end.

The chief agent, the *magician* in effecting this change was M. Arago. Born in the south of France, belonging to a family that was originally from Spain, he has all the excellences and all the defects of southern character. Endowed with an active mind, a lively imagination, a ready eloquence, great versatility of talent, an impetuosity of disposition which sometimes carries him too far, but which is combined with wonderful tact, and even considerable moderation when policy demands it, possessed of a warm heart for his friends and an unforgiving spirit toward his enemies,—he is one of those men who are destined by nature to accomplish much good or much evil. Issuing from the Polytechnic school with the favor of his teachers, he was early commissioned to attend M. Biot into Spain, to assist in the measurement of an arc of the meridian, which that eminent astronomer was designated to make. But his labors were interrupted by the insurrection of the Peninsula; and it was only with the greatest difficulty that he made his escape. To reward his zeal, the doors

of the Institute, through the kind offices of Monge, Laplace and Biot, were soon thrown open to him. A member of the Academy of Sciences, attached to the Bureau of Longitude, a professor of the Polytechnic School, Examiner of the School of Metz, M. Arago enjoyed, from his youth, those honors which are the ordinary recompense of long and laborious study. The most inviting prospects now opened before him. Whilst Lagrange, Laplace, Monge, Jussieu, Delambre, Berthollet were giving law to all Europe, a multitude of younger scholars—Cuvier, Poisson, Fourier, Cauchy, Biot, Dulong, Ampère, Geoffroy, Gay-Lussac, Thénard, Malus, Brongniart, Mirbel, Fresnel, Magendie, Blainville—were treading in the footsteps of their illustrious leaders. M. Arago had only to follow in the same path to acquire a reputation that should have been thoroughly European. But the intoxication produced by his first success, his natural indolence, his aptitude for brilliant experiments rather than for grand conceptions and protracted inquiries induced him to relinquish mathematics, neglect theoretic astronomy, and pursue,—in physics even, to which he devoted himself almost exclusively,—those curious and isolated phenomena which are so fascinating to the imagination, but which are often the result of chance. Indeed he has rarely followed out his discoveries to their legitimate results. His fortunate experiments in magnetism would probably have remained without any ulterior consequences, had it not been for the success of M. Faraday in applying them to his beautiful theory.

The splendid discovery of Malus respecting the polarization of light immediately attracted the attention of scholars; and optics became the order of the day. M. Biot and M. Arago entered at once upon the new field of inquiry. But this community of pursuit, instead of cementing their former friendship, gave rise to animated discussions, and, finally, to an open rupture. Others engaged in the controversy. Laplace, who wished to secure the pre-eminence of his favorite study, seemed to take part against M. Arago, and thus raised up against himself a host of assailants. Legendre was enlisted in the contest; the right hand was extended to all who attacked the *Mécanique Céleste*; and the press was called in to assail our ancient glories—those *old idols*, it was said, which must be broken in pieces. It was at this time that the public were admitted to the sittings of the Academy. Laplace was silenced; for several years, M. Biot abandoned the Institute; and M. Arago was left the victor.

The ascendancy of M. Arago, during the last years of the Restoration, was, in many respects, beneficial to the Academy. But since the Revolution, the government has ceased to intermeddle with the proceedings of the Institute; and yet his power has increased. On the death of Fourier he was made Perpetual Secretary for the mathematical sciences. The prodigious influence of this station must be obvious at a single glance. It is the business of the Perpetual Secretaries to determine the relations of the Institute with the public, manage its pecuniary concerns, regulate the order of business, superintend the press, and, finally, in their eulogies, mete out the honor which shall rest upon the memory of their deceased associates. In addition to all this, they are irremovable. We can easily

conceive what M. Arago must become with such prerogatives, especially after the death of Cuvier, with whom he was obliged to share his authority.

One of the evils growing out of his ascendancy is a diminished acquaintance with the science of Germany. It is suspected that he is wanting in sympathy with men who are more concerned about their posthumous fame than their living reputation. At any rate, his ignorance of their language disqualifies him from appreciating their labors. His intercourse with Germany is kept up entirely through Humboldt. This change in our scientific relations with that country is certainly a matter of profound regret. A few years since, the courts of the North spoke our language; the most celebrated academies of Germany published their communications in French; from St. Petersburg to Lisbon, there was no important discovery, no interesting experiment, which the author did not hasten to communicate to the Academy of the Sciences at Paris. The supremacy of this venerable body, sitting with closed doors, indifferent to the favor of the public, was everywhere established. But its influence has diminished abroad, just as fast as its popularity has increased at home. The Academy of Berlin has separated from us, and now employs the German language. The great scholars of the North, Berzelius, Gauss, etc., no longer send their works to the Institute.

It should be observed, moreover, that the relations which M. Arago sustains with the different parts of Europe are not exempt from change. For example, his discussion with Mr. Brewster brought him into a protracted controversy with English scholars; but, having received distinguished honors on his last visit to England, he became the admirer of the very men whom he had before assailed. Trusting, however, too implicitly to the learning of Lord Brougham, which he had called in question before political sympathy had made them friends, he threw out, in his eulogy on Watt, insinuations which were injurious to Cavendish. The British Association have taken the matter in hand, and published a manifesto against Lord Brougham and M. Arago, affirming their ignorance of the merits of the question. The latter has announced a forthcoming reply, in which, it is said, he will thunder anew against perfidious Albion.

It would be interesting to dwell upon the services which other members of the Academy have rendered to the cause of learning; but to do this would be to write the history of French science since the beginning of the present century. First of all, there is Gay-Lussac, whose works are all *chefs-d'œuvre*, and who, in spite of his modesty, enjoys a brilliant reputation. Who has not admired the perfect courtesy with which he examined the opinions of Sir Humphrey Davy, on some of the highest questions of science? He alone seemed to be unconscious of the victory which he achieved over that illustrious chemist. Thénard has not only contributed by his personal labors to the advancement of science, but he has had the rarer fortune to train up scholars, who have themselves become, in their turn, masters of no mean name. It is to these two men, who are so often mentioned together, to M. Chevreul, who has borne the torch of philosophy to every question which he has investigated, to M. Berthier, who has acquired so much fame in mineral chemistry, to M.

Robiquet, who has made so many ingenious experiments,—in a single word, it is to the entire section of Chemistry that France owes that young but noble school, at the head of which are Dumas and Pelouze, and which numbers, even without the Institute, so many successful chemists. Dumas, it may be added, belongs to a family (Brongniart) which has five members in the Academy of Sciences.

It must be admitted that physics are cultivated with less ardor and success than chemistry. The Academy has some members of the highest order of talent, even since the irreparable loss of Ampère and Dulong, who have given themselves up to this branch of science. Indeed, the department is one of the strongest in the Institute. But few without the Academy are turning their studies in this direction; and suitable candidates to fill the vacancies are obtained with difficulty. Still a section which is composed of such men as Gay-Lussac, Savart, Becquerel and Pouillet, strengthened by MM. Arago and Biot, and also by the chemists of the Academy, who are generally familiar with this branch of learning, must needs exert its influence on the public, and recall at length, to the contemplation of the grander laws of nature, those inquiring minds who seem at present to be wholly absorbed in the phenomena of organic chemistry. The field is vast, and it promises the richest harvest. It is the misfortune of this age, however, that physics, unlike chemistry, are not the highway to wealth. The least improvement in the manufacture of beet sugar will excite more attention than all the beautiful discoveries of M. Savart in acoustics, or of M. Becquerel in electricity.

Mechanics bear the same relation to the actual wants of society as chemistry; and this department is not only represented in the Institute by men of the highest merit, but there are many without, whom we are impatient to see in the Academy. Every branch of the public service has been laid under contribution to enrich this section. The *Marine* has given M. Dupin; *Roads and Bridges*, MM. Cauchy and Coriolis; M. Poncelet comes from the excellent school at Metz, in which science is applied alike to the defence and the prosperity of the country. M. Gambey, recently elected to the Academy, with a reputation so well deserved, is a striking example of the superiority of the working class among us; indeed every man carries in his bag of tools the medal of a member of the Institute.

The section of Geometry is the first in the Academy; and when it combined the talents of Lagrange, Laplace and Legendre, it was perhaps the ablest. Under the direction of the venerable Lacroix, it still preserves its ancient honors: but its voice is too seldom heard; except some delightful communications from M. Poinsoot, on the philosophy of mathematics, we remember no analytic production by any of its members. M. Puitsant, in the department of surveying, is without a rival in Europe; M. Biot is highly accomplished in physics: but as geometers, they seldom participate in the labors of their associates. But this section is strengthened by others, who would alone suffice for the glory of France. At their head is M. Poisson, alike fertile and profound, a man whom we can always point out to strangers with an honest national pride. M. Cauchy

has astonished Europe with the number and variety of his labors. M. Poncelet, who solaced the tedious hours of his imprisonment in Russia, by making discoveries which have given a new impulse to geometry, deserves to be reckoned among our best mathematicians. Without the Institute, many are cultivating the higher branches of analysis with eminent success; and nothing is wanting to complete their fame but the title of academicians.

But the naturalists produce the greatest number of original works. M. de Mirbel, who has done so much for vegetable physiology, has recently given a new proof of his devotion to science, by going to Algiers to study the development of the palm-tree. He will soon communicate the results of his journey. M. de Blainville, who is regarded by the Academy as the successor of Cuvier, ought to receive the heritage of that great naturalist's discussions and rivalries, and resist the tendencies of the synthetic school, whose chief, M. Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, disdaining the beaten track, desires to be called the Kepler of natural history. M. Magendie, whose valuable labors are known throughout Europe, does not cease to contend for positive science—for facts—in opposition to the hypotheses and conjectures of medicine and physiology. M. Flourens, adhering strictly to the experimental method in natural history, and to the rules of the Institute in matters of business, is eminently useful, both as a scholar and as Perpetual Secretary. M. Breschet is one of those who know how to combine the practice of a laborious profession with the most extraordinary inquiries in natural history. MM. Audouin and Milne Edwards present the rare spectacle of a scientific friendship which has hitherto escaped all the perils that threatened its dissolution. Admitted to the Academy in the same year, pursuing the same line of investigation, they seem destined by their age to enjoy, for a long period, the fruits of their toil. Other distinguished names might be mentioned; but unfortunately, there are many members who have made no communication to the Academy for a long time. In some cases, this is owing to the claims of a profession; in others, there is no satisfactory excuse.

Of the other Academies which compose the Institute it is exceedingly difficult to give a satisfactory account. Their ordinary sittings are private; their printed works, therefore, and their annual sessions are the only means by which the public becomes acquainted with their proceedings. It is evident, from what has already been said, that the prosperity of all the Academies depends very much on the Perpetual Secretaries. The merits of MM. Arago and Flourens we have considered at sufficient length. The other Academies have been equally fortunate; indeed, it would be difficult to find the same number of persons who are more worthy to become the interpreters of the Institute than those who have been appointed to this high office. The measured and stately enunciation of M. Daunou,—whose noble character and immense learning leave us in doubt which to admire the most,—is well qualified to detail the severe labors of the Academy of Inscriptions;—a body whose valuable publi-

cations, the Literary History of France, the Collection of the Historians of the Gauls, the Ordinances of the French Kings, the Collection on the Crusades, Notices of Manuscripts, etc., follow each other with a rapidity which deserves the highest praise. The chaste and elegant style and extensive erudition of M. Villemain, who has recently proved himself a most eloquent speaker, naturally designate him as the Secretary of the French Academy. The Academy of the Moral and Political Sciences has found in M. Mignet a cautious guide, a zealous and able representative, who is equally at home in writing the eulogy of Talleyrand, and in preparing, with astonishing labor, the history of political and religious revolutions. However great may have been our regret at the resignation of the author of *Jupiter Olympien*, it is with lively satisfaction that we welcome his successor. M. Raoul-Rochette brings to the office of Perpetual Secretary of the Academy of the Fine Arts, so honorably filled by M. Quatremère de Quincy, the accomplishments of a scholar, with the fancy and the devotion of an artist.

The French Academy and the Academy of the Fine Arts publish no *Mémoires*. It is certainly to be regretted that the public are denied all access to the discoveries of our artists and our literary men. Inquiries respecting general grammar and style, criticisms on our best masters, considerations on the changes of our literature, discussions on disputed points of grammar, the history and etymology of the French language—topics like these might establish a regular and profitable communication with the public. The labor bestowed on the Dictionary, which seems to engross the time of the French Academy, is too slow in its results to excite a general interest. Besides, many are disinclined to bow submissively to this *code* of language, which ought to embrace the terms of every art and every science, and is nevertheless to be constructed by literary men alone. The defects apparent in the present Dictionary will become more glaring in the Universal Dictionary. The concurrent wisdom of the entire Institute is indispensable to the perfection of such a work; a commission should be appointed by the five Academies and placed under the direction of the French Academy, to whom, of right, the superintendence belongs. This would be far better than to have a Dictionary of the Fine Arts, by the Academy of the Fine Arts, and a Universal Dictionary by the French Academy. When these works, which are now in progress, shall be finished, which, in case of conflict, shall be acknowledged as authority?

At the close of a year of arduous, though unobtrusive toil, each Academy presents itself to the public, which generally exhibits a lively interest in these solemnities. Too little care is sometimes bestowed upon the choice of subjects; and it is earnestly to be wished, that the Institute would confine itself to a sober and faithful exposition of its labors, the progress of science, etc., without endeavoring to amuse the auditory. Fourier, by the simple grandeur of his thoughts and the purity of his style, without any concession to his hearers, or appeals to their feelings, always secured their approbation. The annual session of the Academy of the Fine Arts is the most animated and popular. The music, the crowns, the tears of mothers, the plaudits of the assembly, in token of its sympathy with the

young men whose talents have been commended,—all these give to the scene a dramatic air, which appears to be hardly in accordance with the dignity of the Institute. And greater still is the excitement when the French Academy awards the prize of virtue.

ARTICLE X.

A CONDENSED REVIEW OF TOURS IN THE RUSSIAN PROVINCES.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE *London Quarterly* for March, from which we select this article, did not reach us till about the first of April. Having already in type the article in our present No., on the "Emperor Nicholas and the present Government of Russia," we were glad to meet, in this, some more cheering representations of the state of society, and more friendly views of the condition and tendencies of the government. We at first marked it for a brief notice in our *Review of Reviews*; but for the partial relief of such of our readers as may be astounded by the description of *autocracy* and the Autocrat, contained in our article from the *British and Foreign Review*, we have thought it proper to give a more prominent place to a somewhat brighter aspect of the subject. From this writer, who also speaks from personal observation, it would appear that the Emperor, so far from considering *liberalism* a crime, is the zealous friend of liberal institutions, and is wisely exerting his immense power, as well as his personal influence and example, to meliorate the condition of his subjects, and promote their civilization and refinement. Here, too, he is represented as the friend of constitutional freedom throughout Europe and the civilized world. And yet the writer is an Englishman and a Conservative. His representations, however, though they may modify and relieve the impressions produced by the facts detailed in our previous article above referred to, do not solve the mystery of the Russian empire; and we are here, no less than in the other case, in doubt with how much allowance the statements, which we lay before our readers, ought to be received. The conclusion most likely to be formed by the enlightened philanthropist, from these conflicting views, is, that while there is much to deplore in the cruelty and barbarism that still remain, there is a gradual progress towards a better state of things, which, if properly encouraged by the other nations of Europe, may yet be rendered conducive to the advancement of Christian civilization and political liberty throughout the world. The portions of this review which we here present will also introduce the reader to the domestic state and enjoyments of the Russian people, amid those scenes, which, in every country, are only indirectly and remotely affected by the government, and where are witnessed the peace and quiet of rural and village life.—SR. ED.

From the Quarterly Review for March, 1841.

1. *Recollections of a Tour in the North of Europe.* By the Marquis of Londonderry. London: 2 vols. 8vo. 1838.
2. *Miscellaneous Observations in Russia.* By the Rev. R. Pinkerton, D.D. 8vo. 1833.
3. *Domestic Scenes in Russia.* By the Rev. R. Lister Venables. London: 12mo. 1839.
4. *Excursions in the Interior of Russia.* By Robert Bremner, Esq. 2 vols. 8vo. 1839.

GIBBON says loftily that the name of Russia was first "divulged" to the western world in the ninth century, when an embassy from Constantinople to Lewis, the son of Charlemagne, was accompanied by certain envoys of the Czar; but seven hundred years more elapsed before the intercourse was practically established. We are pleased to reflect that the merit belongs to countrymen of our own, who made the discovery of a maritime passage to the mouths of their northern rivers. In the year 1553 sundry "grave citizens of London and men of great wisdom, perceiving the wares and commodities of England to be in small request with the countries and people about us, began to think with themselves how this mischief was to be avoided." Instigated by Sebastian Cabot, who, continueth Richard Eden in his *Decades*, "had long had this secret in his mind," these associates fitted out three ships and a pinnace for no less an object than the discovery of "*the mighty empire of Cathay and various other regions.*" Letters missive from "the right noble Prince Edward VI." (then dying) were prepared for "all the kings and other potentates inhabiting the northeastern part of the world;" and Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and Richard Chancellor, were named the commanders. The little fleet sailed on the "tenth day of May from Ratcliffe, upon the ebbe," and as it passed by Greenwich, where the "court then lay," so great was the excitement, that "the courtiers came running out, and the common people flocked together, standing very thick upon the shore:—the privy council they looked out of the windows of the court, and the rest ran up to the tops of the towers." Thus honored, and amid salutes and cheers of the surrounding ships and mariners, they proceeded on their perilous enterprise. Poor Willoughby, with his own ship, the *Bona Esperanza*, and her consort, was lost upon the coast of Lapland, but the *Bon Adventure*, weathering all storms, sailed in nightless summer days into the White Sea, and reached the mouth of the Dwina, where her stout-hearted captain, Richard Chancellor—"pilot-major" he might well be called—cast his anchor. Chancellor's journey inland from near the spot where Archangel now stands, and his reception at Moscow were worthy of a bold and able adventurer and a stately court. Describing the imperial banquet which was offered to him, he talks of "140 servitors, all arrayed in cloth of gold, which in the dinner time changed *thrice their habit and apparel*;" whilst "the furniture of dishes and drinking-vessels, which were there for the use of 200 guests, were all of pure gold." We much doubt if the "grand Monarque"

ever exceeded this sumptuousness:—the reader will say it may also be doubted if all was gold that glittered;—but we beg of him to remember that such is the story, not of one, but of several shrewd old English traffickers, who assert that they handled and scrutinized in the morning the articles they had stared at over night. In fact Moscow was an Asiatic capital, quite guiltless of intercourse with *Brummagem*.

The success of Chancellor led to the exchange of ambassadors, and the first commercial treaty between the countries bears the venerable date of 1555. It would appear, indeed, that John Vasilivich II., our first Russian ally, was so enamored of every thing about us, that he even strove hard to get an English wife. Queen Elizabeth, whose good graces the Czar had obtained, wished to have sent him the Lady Anne Hastings, daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon; but when that amiable damsel was informed of certain autocratical habits of her intended, who was, it appears, a duplicate of our Harry VIII., the last of his *seven* wives having just *been thrown into a lake*, she prudently declined to fill the vacant situation.

But what was the Muscovite empire of those days? Girt round by formidable neighbors who occasionally ravaged it—the Swede on the north, the Pole on the west, the Turk on the south, and the Tartar on the east—Russia was without a foreign ally save England. Even then, undoubtedly, she had become a powerful and wealthy state—independent (after long struggles) of Polish and Tartar domination—with her people united, as at this day, by one religious creed—in short, she had within her the germ of her future grandeur. It was reserved, however, for a prince of the house of Romanow to rouse his countrymen to play a higher part—to break through their surrounding trammels, and to pass from their isolated condition into the fulness of a European Empire. Peter the Great sketched, and with his own stout hands, to a great extent, carried out that gigantic plan on which the modern Colossus has been raised. His capacious mind called a new maritime capital into existence, in a tract where nature seemed to have placed her *veto*. Russia then, indeed, renouncing her semi-Asiatic state, burst forth upon Europe as a *new* country. One natural result, however, has been, that historians and travellers have, in their descriptions of the empire, taken too much of their coloring from the *new* metropolis, and have comparatively neglected the *old* country. It is, we apprehend, true that large tracts of the *interior* are less known to our contemporaries, than they were to our pushing ancestors—who drove their commerce up the Dwina, and formed depots at Vologda, Yaroslaf and Astracan.

Those who wish for minute details of the gayeties of the court, and the splendors of the camp, will find an ample feast in the “Recollections” of the Marquis of Londonderry—whose elegant lady also has published in one of our *Annals* a very pretty chapter or two on the former of these captivating themes. As might have been expected, the Marquis warmly advocates that cause with which his chivalrous life and old associations have identified him.

Justly may we say that, in honoring him with special courtesy and

confidence, Nicholas honored one of England's most distinguished soldiers. Nor are we at all surprised that such an ardent and generous spirit should have been potently affected by the sort of reception he met with in Russia—he can afford, as well as we, to smile at the criticism of a witty brother peer, who, on reaching the last page of the book, scribbled this *envoy* :

If all be gospel that you write,
Heaven's paved, of course, with malachite.

Making due allowance for the “*couleur de rose*” with which every thing must have been invested in his eyes, we still have facts enough brought forward on which we are bound to place reliance. Such, for example, is the Emperor's own declaration :

England and Russia are so placed *geographically* by Providence, that they ought always to understand each other and be friends ; and I have ever done all in my power to accomplish it. Really I have so much love for England, that when the Journals and the Radicals were abusing me outrageously, I had the greatest desire to put myself into a steam-boat and proceed direct to London (apprising the King of course of my intended arrival), to present myself among reasonable and fair-judging Englishmen, to converse with them and to show them how unjustly I was aspersed. It is my ardent wish to cultivate peaceable relations of amity with all powers. I want *interior tranquillity and time to consolidate the component parts of this great empire.*—p. 13.

That the Emperor commands admirably in his own person at a review, and is a most adroit tactician, is admitted by all, and the more we follow him into the different departments of government, the more shall we find that he there displays the same spirit and energy as at the head of his troops ; that he is, in short, as Benkendorf said of him, in courtier's language, “*le professeur en tout.*” But he is not only the brilliant chief and able administrator ; unless all reporters, of whatever shade of opinion, are alike in the wrong, Nicholas is the pattern of domestic excellence, whether viewed as a son, a father, or a husband. We may express our own belief that Russia has not been governed by a man of so much firmness of purpose since the death of Peter the Great ; and as his decisions are influenced by the strongest desire to do justice to the *lower orders*, he is naturally looked up to by them with filial affection. His personal influence over the people has been put to the severest tests, both when he threw himself into the midst of an infuriated mob during the raging of the cholera, and when he quelled the bloody insurrection of the military colonies. On the first occasion he galloped in his *droshki* alone, and unattended by a single soldier, into the centre of a great market-place crowded with the deluded people, who imagined that their food was poisoned. Commanding them to fall on their knees and pray to God, who alone could avert the pestilence, he calmed the tempest, and was followed by the people into the church, where they invoked blessings on the head of their *father*—for so the sovereign is still universally styled and address-

ed in Russia. A like magnanimous promptitude carried him to the scene of the cholera-mutiny of the soldier peasants. The heads of the officers of these misguided men were rolling down the steps of the barracks when the Emperor appeared. And how attended? With artillery and dragoons? No—in his travelling calèche accompanied only by Count Orloff. Standing forth to the mutineers, he thus addressed them: "Soldiers! you have committed the deepest crimes—instant submission and acknowledgment of your guilt can alone save you." The muskets dropped from the arms of the men, and they fell prostrate before him. "Now," added he, "that you are again my subjects, I forgive you, but on one condition only, that you at once name the men who misled you." The ringleaders were then exiled to Siberia, and this fearful insurrection passed away.

Those who are little versed in that form of Christianity, in which so many millions of our fellow creatures in the Russian empire devoutly believe, will find ample instruction in the pages of Dr. Pinkerton—one of the most efficient missionaries ever sent out by the Bible Society—a modest, pious and really learned man. If he had given us nothing more than his translation of Russian proverbs, he would have deserved our best thanks for thus throwing light on the character and manners of a people among whom traditional maxims have so much influence. But in addition to this he has accumulated for our use quite a harvest of personal observation; and, moreover, he has put into fair English six sermons of Russian prelates, which, as they powerfully inculcate the wholesome doctrines of faith and charity, do not lack of merit in our eyes from their terseness and *brevity*. Fifteen minutes would dispose of the longest.—Hear this, ye who run into the second hour!

The two works, however, which we most recommend to the general reader, are the "Domestic Scenes" by Mr. Venables, and the "Excursions" by Mr. Bremner. It is at the same time right to premise, that very large portions of Russia in Europe have not been visited by either of these gentlemen. It must, in particular, be always borne in mind, that their opinions have been formed in districts where the great mass of the peasantry are the serfs of individual proprietors, who, although responsible to their own college and to the marshal of their own order, as well as to the senate, for the commission of any abuse, still often contrive to place themselves beyond the reach of the law, notwithstanding every effort of the Emperor. In the great northern governments of Olonetz, Archangel and Vologda, of which these writers know and say nothing, the traveller will meet with a different and a very superior race of peasantry. He will there find tall, well-featured men, with the front of sturdy yeomen, who having lived from father to son, for centuries, upon the soil which they cultivate, acknowledge no lord save the Emperor, or his representative officers. Vexed with no extraordinary exactions, their only cares are to pay a moderate fixed tax to the state, and to furnish their quota of recruits for the army. These *crown peasants* of Russia (*twenty-two millions* of souls,) are well lodged, well warmed, comfortably dressed and seem to enjoy existence as much as the work-people of many parts of France and England—to say nothing of Ireland, or of various extensive

districts in the Scotch Highlands. We speak from our own observation—strengthened, however, by that of a most intelligent French “*compagnon du voyage*”—and of course only on the general aspect of things. We have as yet no documents to enable us to judge correctly of the trade, manufactures, and agriculture of these vast governments (the work of Schnitzler being very meager in respect to them); but we may hope to be soon furnished with ample materials for thinking, through the researches of the Baron A. de Meyendorf, who is, we know, at present employed in a general statistical survey by order of the Emperor.

The simple and unpretending volume of the Rev. R. Lister Venables bears throughout the stamp of truth, and, as a picture of a Russian interior, is entitled to our full confidence. Being married to a Russian lady he passed a winter in the social circle of her connexions; and depicts their modes of life with spirit and in a very pleasing style.

[Our reviewer here quotes from Mr. Venables a description of the peasants' huts in Russia, which he represents as exceedingly warm and substantial. These so perfectly resemble in structure the log cabins of our own new settlements that we omit the description, and proceed to his account of the peasant's apparent enjoyments, with the disapproval of the reviewer.]

It does not follow, however, because the Russian dances and sings, that he is to be considered happy for his station. On the contrary, it surely is a melancholy spectacle, and even degrading to human nature, to see bearded men scrambling like monkeys for gingerbread, and delighting in the sports of children.

These people undoubtedly were not oppressed; they were under a kind and considerate master, and they wanted for none of the necessities of life: they, therefore, as individuals, were not to be pitied, and, knowing no better, were probably contented with their lot: but the chain of slavery was on their minds, as it is on the minds of the Russian peasantry at large. They know that they can do nothing to change or improve their condition, and therefore they have no stimulus or excitement to energy. They have no habit of acting or deciding for themselves, and are in fact mere grown-up children, equally thoughtless and improvident: as such, indeed, are they treated by law and custom. With little in the world to hope or fear, since to rise is out of the question, and to sink impossible, and with a naturally easy and cheerful disposition, they sing, and dance, and play like children on a holiday, with a light-hearted merriment, which is not happiness; the reckless hilarity of intoxication, forgetful of yesterday and careless of to-morrow, not the sober satisfaction of rational contentment.—*Venables*, p. 47.

We wonder really that any comfortable gentleman, who has ever happened to ride through the suburbs of an English manufacturing town, can bring himself to indulge in such reflections as these, when he has the honest innocent merriment of a set of well-fed rustics under his eyes—at all events, we shall not imitate him and

“—— go on refining
While they think of dining.”

Some admirable home traits are given by M. de Sabourof in a letter to the author. We select one which is highly characteristic of the Russian peasant :

He is deeply imbued with a reverence for religion, and is not so much superstitious as thoroughly ignorant. He kisses the hand of his parish priest, but he laughs at his failings, and *is quite able to make the distinction between the individual and the office.* Of this I can give you a very characteristic anecdote. Passing one day near a large group of peasants, who were assembled in the middle of the village, I asked them what was going forward ?

"We are only putting the father (as they call the priest) into a cellar."

"Into a cellar !" I replied ; "what are you doing that for ?"

"Oh," said they, "he is a sad drunkard, and has been in a state of intoxication all the week ; so we always take care, every Saturday, to put him in a safe place, that he may be fit to officiate at church next day ; and on Monday he is at liberty to begin drinking again."

I could not help applauding this very sensible arrangement, which was related to me with all the gravity in the world.—*Ibid.* p. 334.

Yet with all his profound devotion to his own creed, the Greek Christian is tolerant, and demonstrates by his practice that every form of belief can coexist with the maintenance of by far the most united and most powerful church establishment in Europe. One of Mr. Venables' anecdotes of the present Emperor (and they are all creditable to him) illustrates well the condition of things. Passing a sentry on Easter Sunday, Nicholas saluted him as usual with the words : "Christ is risen." "No, he's not, your Majesty," replied the soldier, presenting arms. "He's not !" said the Emperor, "what do you mean ?—this is Easter Sunday." "I know that, please your Majesty," replied the man, "but I am a Mohammedan."—p. 282.

[Our attention is next directed to the work of Mr. Bremner. After quoting a few paragraphs on the subject of travelling, the writer adds:]

Fancying ourselves for the moment on wheels in Russia, we may say that no published accounts give us an adequate notion of the rapid, bustling, "ventre à terre" style, in which the traveller is galloped along who is supposed to be employed on important business. With four ardent little steeds in hand, all abreast at the wheel, and two before, conducted by a breechless boy, who is threatened with death if his horse backs or falls, your bearded Jehu rattles down a slope at a headlong pace, and whirling you over a broken wooden bridge with the noise of thunder, he charges the opposite bank in singing—"Go along, my little beauties—fly on, from mount to mount, from vale to vale—'tis you that pull the *silver gentlemen*—(their delicate mode of suggesting a good *tip*)—'tis you my dears, shall have fine pastures ;" the whole accompanied by grand girations of a solid thong, which ever and anon falls like lead upon the ribs of the wheelers, followed by screeches which would stagger a band of

Cherokees, and which, therefore, we must not pretend to Anglicise. But we must caution the traveller who knows nothing of the interior of Russia but the beautiful *chaussée* from St. Petersburg to Moscow, against supposing that the jaded and worn horses, which he may there occasionally see, are fair types of the "gallopers" we are here calling to mind. Still less is he to imagine that the drivers and natives at the post-houses on the road between the two great cities are fair specimens of the lower orders of Russia. These people were brought from a distance by Peter the Great, for the service of this communication, and are a peculiarly privileged, idle, horse-jockey race. And whilst we are on the road let us also say that Nicholas is the most galloping personage that ever wore the crown of the Czars. No distance stays him: at Petersburg to-day, at Astracan in a week. He flies by night and by day, at railway pace, always in his simple *calèche*, and trusting Cesar's fortunes to the conduct of his wild (though capital) coachmen. In the tens of thousands of miles he has thus travelled, continually changing drivers, and many of these peasants, who do not mount a carriage-box twice in the year, His Majesty has, we believe, never met with more than one serious overturn. The vigor and bodily endurance he has occasionally manifested are quite wonderful. When commanding the army against Turkey, and already beyond his own territories, the news of the last illness of the Empress-mother arrived. To Petersburg he went without a halt, though his carriage fell to pieces by the way, and much of the journey was performed in carts or *tilegas*. He attained his object, however, and secured the last embrace and dying benediction of his mother? This anecdote must have its due weight with domestic Englishmen. Nor will its value be impaired if we follow the imperial footsteps to the German baths, and there witness (as some of our friends did last year) the simple manners of "M. and Madame Romanow," teaching by example to their children, and offering, in their social circle, a presage that the virtues which adorn the court of Nicholas and his amiable consort will be continued in that of their successors.

* * * * *

We must away, however, from these visions to the realities of the great fair of Nijnii Novgorod. If, like ourselves, you approach this curious scene by sailing down the Volga, the mightiness of this king of European streams will gradually gain upon your senses, but if, like Mr. Bremner, you take the high road and gain the first sight of it from the heights of the citadel of Nijnii, you will appreciate his words:

The demeanor of this river sovereign is worthy of a king. Leaving less powerful rivals to raise themselves into importance by fuming and brawling—secure in his might and uncontested dignity—he moves calmly but resistlessly on. There is no noise, no surge—the glassy tide lies beneath you as peaceful as a lake, and on the first glance, from its great width, bears some resemblance to one. The Volga at this point is 4600 feet wide—that is, more than four-and-a-half times the width of the Thames at Blackfriar's bridge.—Vol. II. p. 217.

After enumerating the rich and varied goods which are conveyed by this river in many-named and many-formed barks, our author shows that in productiveness it is perhaps the first of all the rivers in the world. After talking of *sterlet* (which we pronounce to be the best fish that ever came to table), sturgeon, carp, beluga, pike, salmon, shad and seal, he exclaims: "Well then does this river deserve the name of Volga, which it is said comes from the Sarmatian language, and signifies 'great.'"

"But the fair!" cries some impatient reader. Here are pages about Nishnei and its rivers, but still not a word about that which lured you so far out of your way. Nor does this impatience surprise us, for what has become of the fair, was the very question which we ourselves had been putting ever since we entered the place. After passing the gates [i. e. of the high town], not a single symptom of it had we seen. Turn this way, however: from the Volga and Asia, look in another direction, across the Okka, and there in a low, almost inundated flat, exposed to the waters of both these rivers, lies a scene of bustle and activity unparalleled in Europe. A vast town of shops, laid out in regular streets, with churches, hospitals, barracks, and theatres, now tenanted by upwards of 100,000 souls—[200,000 is, according to late information, the average daily number]—but in a few weeks to be as dead and silent as the forests we have been surveying; for when the fair is over, not a creature will be seen out of the town on the spot which is now swarming with human beings. Yet these shops are not the frail structures of canvass and ropes, with which the idea of a fair is associated in other countries; they are regular houses, built of the most substantial materials.—*Bremner*, Vol. II. p. 226.

The order and sobriety maintained throughout the vast multitude (the sole police force being a troop or two of Cossacks) would surprise the "Drunken Barnabys" who frequent our English "free marts;" and the cleanliness is also quite admirable, though we cannot exactly go into details about the wonderful subterranean distribution of running water, etc. etc. "The business of the fair is of such importance, that the governor of the province, the representative of the Emperor, General *Boutaniéff*, takes up his residence in it during the greater part of the autumn." Both in Mr. Bremner's work, and in the humble notes of our own recent trip, there occur many eulogies of this governor, whose name is more correctly "*De Bouterline*" (a good name in Peter's time); and we may here say at once that, according to all our own observations, the provincial governors of the present day are entirely unlike the only portraiture of that class drawn by Mr. Venables—who, indeed, admits that he draws it from hearsay. Wherever we had the opportunity of forming their acquaintance, whether at Archangel, Jaroslaf, Kostroma, or Nijnii, we found the governors to be zealous, able, and, as far as we could judge, honest public servants.

Mr. Bremner's sketch of the scene which awaits you at the fair is excellent—though we must affix a note of caution to the start:

First advances a white-faced, flat-nosed merchant from Archangel, come here with his furs.

Archangel no doubt can produce white faces, and also flat noses—but it can also, we assure Mr. Bremner, boast of well-coloured and well-profiled gentlemen, and, what is better, as pretty and accomplished ladies as we ever desire to meet with anywhere. But to proceed :

He is followed by a bronzed long-eared Chinese, who has got rid of his tea, and is now moving towards the city, to learn something of European life before setting out on his many months' journey home. Next come a pair of Tartars from the Five Mountains, followed by a youth whose regular features speak of Circassian blood. Those, with muslins on their arms, and bundles on their backs, are Tartar pedlars. Cosacks, who have brought hides from the Ukraine, are gazing in wonder on their brethren who have come with caviar from the Akhtubá. Those who follow, by their flowing robes and dark hair, must be from Persia ; to them the Russians owe their perfumes. The man in difficulty about his passport is a Kujur from Astrabad, applying for aid to a Turcoman from the northern bank of the Gourgan. The wild-looking Bashkir from the Ural has his thoughts among the hives of his cottage, to which he would fain be back ; and the stalwart Kuzzilbash from Orenburg looks as if he would gladly bear him company, for he would rather be listening to the scream of the eagle in his chase than to the roar of this sea of tongues.

Glancing in another direction, yonder simpering Greek from Moldavia, with the rosary in his fingers, is in treaty with a Kalmuck as wild as the horses he was bred amongst. Here comes a Truchman craving payment from his neighbor Ghilan (of Western Persia), and a thoughtless Bucharian is greeting some Agriskhan acquaintance (sprung of the mixed blood of Hindoos and Tartars). Nogais are mingling with Kirghisians, and drapers from Paris are bargaining for the shawls of Cashmere with a member of some Asiatic tribe of unpronounceable name. Jews from Brody are settling accounts with Turks from Trebizond ; and a costume-painter from Berlin is walking arm-in-arm with the player from St. Petersburg who is to perform Hamlet in the evening.

In short, cotton merchants from Manchester, jewellers from Augsburg, watchmakers from Neuschâtel, wine-merchants from Frankfort, leech-buyers from Hamburgh, grocers from Königsberg, amber-dealers from Memel, pipe-makers from Dresden, and furriers from Warsaw help to make up a crowd, the most motley and most singular that the wonder-working genius of commerce ever drew together.—Vol. II. pp. 229-231.

Following this up with other equally successful descriptive efforts, Mr. Bremner informs us that the fair of Nijnii far surpasses that of Leipsic ; and, if so, of course every fair in Europe. Leipsic only boasts of 40,000 strangers daily, and a sale of goods to the amount of six millions sterling ; while the numbers at Nijnii are 200,000 daily, and by probable estimate *twelve millions sterling* pass occasionally from the buyers to the sellers.

The interest of the reader who follows Mr. Bremner is well kept up—indeed, we should say “crescendo”—in the journey through the great corn-growing districts of the South. The gorgeous produce of Little Russia, the picture of the flourishing town of Koursk, and the increased comforts

of the inhabitants fill many cheering pages—to say nothing of the gay evening carols of well-dressed maidens, which rouse the author, though a “canny Scot,” to exclaim :

Talk of Italy ! Russia shall henceforth be the land of song. You may travel from one end of Italy to the other, and never hear a peasant, man or woman, carol a single air. Even in the large towns, unless from some bacchanalian party going home from a glee-club or the theatre, the traveller seldom hears Italians singing. They keep all their notes to themselves, to make us pay dear for them in London. Among the Russians, on the other hand, nothing but singing greets the unhappy traveller’s ears from Cronstadt to Odessa.—Vol. II. pp. 351, 352.

We must, we perceive, gallop like Mazeppa across the Ukraine. The actual style of living at Pultava shines out so radiantly in the pages of Mr. Bremner, reminding us not a little of the recruiting-sergeant’s address to the surrounding clods on a market-day : “Come along, my boys, to the land where beef’s a penny a pound and wine’s in buckets”—that, we think, some of our would-be economists might do worse than migrate for a season to the Ukraine.

The “leech” trade, of which we were ignorant, is worth a sentence. Having been nearly hunted out of all the ponds and marshes of the west of Europe, these animals still abound in the Ukraine, whither all the leech-fishers and dealers proceed. One thousand leeches, which there cost 3s. 4d., are doled out to our English apothecaries at £10 and £12 sterling. (p. 409.) If this be so in times of *peace*, pray, ye “rosy men of purple cheer,” that the day may never arrive when the Ukraine shall be closed ; for if so, the frightful vision of Plimley might be retaliated on ourselves. If, in the plenitude of her power, Britain decreed that “not a purge should be taken between the Weser and the Garonne,” the Czar of Muscovy might fulminate, and when aldermen and prebendaries least expected it, that not a leech should suck from Liverpool to Canterbury.

To Sir Walter Scott’s admirable sketch of the Cossacks, which he drew in 1815 at Paris, Mr. Bremner adds a few capital touches :

Nor is it merely in the field that the fierceness of the Cossack soldier is seen ; we have only to watch him doing duty as a policeman in a Russian crowd, pelting right and left with his heavy whip, and some idea will be formed of the character he displays in war. The very touch of the uniform seems to change his nature. Fortunately, however, he assumes his inoffensive character the moment the drill jacket is thrown aside. With his hand on the plough, he is once more our obliging friend of the wayside ; his campaigning fierceness so completely forgotten, that he scarcely raises his eye to exchange a look with us as we pass his humble door.—Vol. II. p. 437.

In parting with the travellers whose works we have, on the whole, so much commended, we must now be permitted to differ from them on a

few points. Quite agreeing with Mr. Venables that, from the absence of an independent middle class, Russia does not yet contain the elements for establishing a constitutional government, we dissent from him in thinking that "under her present circumstances, she cannot advance much further in civilization." We really wonder how this last *dictum* could proceed from any man who had taken any pains to ascertain the progress actually made in the last five-and-twenty years. It has been *vast*—vast in a multitude of respects; and we venture to say the march is getting more and more rapid every day, and will continue to do so, barring civil wars and revolutions, for ages to come. With near 50,000,000 of serfs it would indeed be insane to talk of sudden enfranchisement. As rational admirers of liberty, we ought to rest satisfied, if knowledge be really advanced, and with this advancement the laws are improved.

We do not mean to lecture; but in addition to "the great exertions which," as Mr. Bremner truly says, "the government is making in the cause of education" (Vol. II. p. 71), some most important measures of the present reign have been overlooked by all the writers of recent books on Russia. For example, not one of them alludes to the great blessing conferred on all classes by the issuing of the *swod*, or harmonized compendium of imperial ukases, so often till then contradictory and irreconcilable. This code, moreover, contains at least three new statutes which deserve every praise. 1st. Every crown peasant—(let us repeat 22,000,000 of souls)—when he acquires sufficient wealth, may purchase the rights of citizenship and become the free merchant or burgher of a town. 2dly. Every merchant of the first guild who has been thrice elected chief of the corporation of his district, at once establishes for his family the privilege of *hereditary nobility*. 3dly. The rate of interest has been reduced from 6 to 4 per cent. The last of these laws propitiated the nobles, whilst the two enfranchising statutes were most unpalatable to them. But the Emperor held firm to his resolves—even at the risk of seriously annoying his nobility—convinced as he is that his dynasty will be best perpetuated by the *gradual* introduction of liberal institutions, which Russia cannot possess until after a solid middle class shall have been established.

* * * * *

We must also qualify Mr. Bremner's statements about the manufactures of Russia. Agreeing with him in the belief, that for many a day she must supply herself with articles of luxury from foreign nations, we cannot admit "that the highest of their cloth manufactories produce only coarse stuffs, worn only by the poorer classes;" for we happen to have now in wear a good long cloak of imperial gray, of *genuine Muscovite manufacture*, which is the admiration of brother reviewers. As to linen, we venture to state that their damask table-cloths, sheeting, and *duck* (the latter so long known to our soldiers) cannot be surpassed in any country. In jewelry and fillagree, we can exhibit samples from Vologda and the remote Oustiug (tracts which, it appears, few Englishmen have traversed since the days of our first adventurers), that rival even Genoese or Venetian work. The whole of the well-dressed population of the

northern tracts of the ancient Permian are clad in the work of their own hands; and in all handicraft of wood, from the carved front of the peasant's cottage, to the imitation of a French commode or fauteuil, every common artisan is supreme. In porcelain, prodigious improvements have already taken place, as the "gastinoidwor" of Moscow will testify; and as to cutlery, though Russia is still far behind Sheffield, we are now mending our pen (for we are old-fashioned enough to stick to the gray goose-quill) with a small knife made in the cottage of a peasant in the government of Vladimir, which would have done no discredit to any shop in the Strand.

If *truth*, therefore, must be told, Russia is advancing in manufactures as in every other sign of civilization; and we believe that this advance would be much more rapid if the government did not strive to force its subjects, by heavy import duties, to become manufacturers of every thing which they have formerly bought from the stranger. If the mass of the people were first permitted to purchase cheaply, and thus acquire a taste for foreign goods, England and the rest of Europe would be benefitted, whilst Russia would be laying the foundation of her future grandeur and independence.

How soon, and to what extent, she can ever become independent of all other states, is no easy problem to solve—though we may in part anticipate its solution. Steam is the acknowledged new element of advancement, by which this age is distinguished from all which have preceded it. By its magic power distance is set at nought; and the productions of the antipodes are brought rapidly together. *Coal*, therefore, must henceforth be the motor and the meter of all commercial nations. Without it no modern people can become great, either in manufactures or in the *naval art of war*. In Western Europe, with the limited exceptions of parts of Belgium, Westphalia and Silesia, where coal-fields (comparatively small, however,) exist, Great Britain holds an almost exclusive monopoly of this mighty agent, since the carbonaceous tracts of France are well known to be valueless for all *great* purposes. Far to the west must we indeed roam, ere we meet again with the same sinews of strength, and then we find them in the hands of our North American colonies, and in those of our kinsmen of the United States. And even in that great western continent, quit but the region over which the *English* language is spoken, and you leave behind you the country of coal, there being little carboniferous matter to the south of the isthmus of Darien. There is something so remarkable in this correlation between the spread of Englishmen and the presence of that mineral which is destined to be their great palladium (for Australia and New Zealand may be added), that we cannot but admire the truth of the sailor's creed, and believe with him, that "there's a sweet little Providence sits up aloft," which in keeping "watch for the life of poor Jack," has brought us to this sure anchoring-ground of a great commercial people.

But to return to Russia. If, in the progress of cultivation, her forests are destined to disappear, has she no natural deposits of coal to supply their place? This is *the* question which must go home to her states-

men. Our own last summer's explorations already enable us to answer it to some extent. It is no longer doubtful that all the rock formations of northern Russia are *more ancient* than that peculiar zone in the crust of the earth, which, in other favored tracts, is carboniferous, and hence that any search for coal in such deposits would be hopeless. Has, then, Russia no coal-field? One, indeed, she has, upon the Donetz, but it is distant from either metropolis, and, moreover, it is yet to be proved if its contents be of sufficient value to be transported to the Black Sea. And in like manner, it is still to be determined whether certain wide tracts on the western flanks of the Ural chain, which are known to be slightly carbonaceous, are of national import.*

In the mean time, whatever may be the extent to which coal may be worked in a given district of the *south* of Russia, or subsequently discovered in her government of the *east*—(and we hope that she may realize these objects)—the bare fact, that the great provinces which surround her metropolitan cities do not contain it, is sufficient for us. With a knowledge of this fact, wise and prudent men, such as the Emperor and his ministers are generally allowed to be, can never wish to be on bad terms with that state which supplies Russia with the fuel by which her steam-vessels and her rail-carriages are now propelled; and this, too, at a price not amounting to that which we inhabitants of London pay for the same commodity!

The Duke of Wellington, in alluding on a late occasion to the invidious interpretations put by some among us on the plans and designs of Russia, said, in his spirit of *fairness*, that he saw no reason for doubting that her official language had been, and was, in unison with her intentions. We are sure it has been in unison with her most essential interests. The mart, which Great Britain affords to this ally of three hundred years' standing for her grain, timber, tallow and flax, is no trifle; and every puff of smoke from a steamer on the Neva must remind her of the old friend who now furnishes her with that material, without which she must cease to advance in manufactures and naval enterprise. Mr. Bremner confesses openly, that, having entered the country imbued with prejudices, he left it with a high respect for the people, and with changed views regarding their government: we did not carry with us the prepossessions of which he got rid, but we heartily concur in his closing hope, "that Russia and England may long continue united by a friendship which has hitherto stood firm under many rude assaults, and which is alike honorable and advantageous to the two greatest empires in the world.

* We doubt not that the Emperor, fully alive as he is to the vast interest attached to this inquiry, will, through his very efficient school of mines, and the able director, General Tcheffkine, employ competent persons to determine these national questions. M. Demidoff, to whom a large portion of the Donetz coal-field belongs, has indeed already obtained a survey of this from a skilful French engineer, M. Le Play.

ARTICLE XI.

REVIEW OF REVIEWS.

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW; OR EUROPEAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL,
No. XXII. JANUARY, 1841.

WE have examined to some extent the previous Nos. of this Quarterly, which was commenced in 1835, and have been impressed with the richness of its contents, and, in general, with the calmness and dignity of its discussions. It is both liberal and conservative in its character, and, as to the range of its topics, is European in the largest sense. Its leading articles exhibit the results of profound learning and extensive research, and constitute valuable treatises on topics of general interest pertaining to literature, science, morals, religion, education, national and international politics. The present number well sustains the character of the work, as one of the most able of the British periodicals.

Art. I. It begins with a well digested article on the *National Dynasty of Poland*, a nation which, for its misfortunes and its heroic efforts in defence of its rights and liberty, has so often, during the last half-century, attracted the attention of statesmen and the sympathies of the whole civilized world. We omit any further account of this article, with the expectation of being able to give it a place in the next No. of the Eclectic.

Art. II. This too is an article of great value, on a topic, or rather a connected series of topics, of universal and never failing interest. It is a Review of Hallam's "*Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*, Vols. 2, 3 and 4, London, 1839." It is too long for insertion entire in our work, being more than sixty pages in the "British and Foreign Review." A portion of it, however, is too valuable to be withheld from our readers, and may be expected to appear in our No. for July next.

Art. III. We have here an able discussion entitled "*The Education Question—Special Religious Instruction*," covering forty pages. The occasion, spirit and design of this article will be sufficiently indicated by the following introductory paragraphs:

It seems to be at length a settled point among men of all parties and persuasions, that the people of the United Empire shall be educated; but the universal agreement as to the desired end does not bring us much nearer to its accomplishment. We have advanced, indeed, one step farther in unanimity on the subject. It is acknowledged without a

dissentient voice, that the people ought to be *religiously* educated.—Here, however, all harmony ceases, and a strife has commenced which threatens to impede every measure of a national kind for their instruction.

The cause of this strife is sufficiently notorious. It is insisted that Scriptural doctrines shall form part of the teaching to be given to the poor at the public schools. An outcry is forthwith raised, and a struggle ensues among the religious bodies of the kingdom, as to the degree of influence they are severally to possess over this branch of education. The Church of England demands the entire possession of it for herself. The Dissenters claim their proportionate share. The Catholics aspire to a similar participation. The Church maintains her ground against both the others, but is joined by the Dissenters in resistance to the Catholics. Here, then, has a religious feud broken out on the very threshold of the undertaking! The object of the undertaking itself is banished from the view by the acrimony excited among the parties.—The rights of justice are scoffed at in the desire for ecclesiastical supremacy. The claims of the poor are set at nought amidst the fury of sectarian intolerance. Like all other things in this land of liberty, religion is made the theme of party vehemence, resentment and recrimination, and her own divine charity is trampled under foot in the affected eagerness to promote her interests.

We mean not at present to enter into the special merits of this controversy; our intention is, at once to challenge the principle whence it originates, by denying the propriety of introducing Scriptural doctrine as a subject of instruction into schools. We believe the practice to be attended with imminent danger to the spiritual welfare of the young; and, if we can show that such is the case, we may assist in removing the obstacle to a uniform plan of national education. We know the opposition we have to encounter. We know the misapprehension, the misconstruction, the misrepresentation to which all are exposed, who dispute the soundness of a principle or practice, identified in the minds of men, with even the *apparent* interests of religion. But we are not deterred. It is in behalf of its *real* interests that we appeal to the judgment of the public; these have not always been advanced by means that were long received as most fitted for the purpose. The light in which we consider the subject will be at once explained by the three following propositions, which we shall endeavor, to the best of our ability, to establish:

First, that the practice usually pursued, and declared to be indispensable in a system of education, namely, of teaching the doctrines of Scripture—during childhood and in school—and after the manner in which ordinary instruction is given, so far from being favorable to the formation of a Christian character, has a powerful tendency to impair the true influence of religion, to render the belief in it formal and inoperative, and even to endanger its hold on many minds.

Secondly, that there are in society abounding evidences of this tendency, in the kind of influence which religion exercises over men professedly zealous, and the extent to which a spirit of sectarianism is substituted for the spirit of the Gospel, sufficient to warn us against the application of the practice to the instruction of the poor.

And lastly, that *Scriptural instruction* does not in itself imply what is properly understood by a *religious education*; that such education, up to a certain period, may be most judiciously conducted without it, and should in all ordinary cases be left to the parents of youth, aided in due time by the Christian minister, whose office it is, and not that of the schoolmaster, to teach the doctrines of religion.

The boldness manifested by the writer in assuming these positions characterizes his manner of sustaining them; and if it were proved that the advocates of "special religious instruction" in the schools for the poor of England are so *universally* moved by the spirit of sectarianism, as this writer represents, we would say his positions are in the main well sustained. But we can hardly persuade ourselves that such is the fact. The thing which they profess to desire is simply the "teaching of the *doctrines of Scripture*." Restricting the meaning of this expression to the narratives of the Bible, and those precepts which are essential to salvation, and in which all Christians substantially agree, we hesitate not to take ground with those who fall under the censure of our reviewer. If they go further than this, and claim provision for the inculcation of the peculiar tenets of their respective sects and parties in the schools for the poor, we would not abate an atom from the severity of the censure contained in the article before us. The selfishness, the ambition, the intolerance of such a spirit are utterly inconsistent with the exercise of that benevolence which truly *cares for the poor*. We are not prepared to believe, however, that such is the meaning of the majority of the advocates of religious instruction in schools. Nor can it be that they would have the "doctrines of Scripture" inculcated "after the same manner in which ordinary instruction is given." The ingenious reasoning of the writer, then, against teaching religion as a *task*, is out of place, unless those whom he opposes have taken a false position in the defence of a right principle. And we cannot agree with the writer in his argument against the propriety of introducing Scriptural instruction in schools, on the ground of the *solemnity* and *awfulness* of its subjects. They are subjects in which the young as well as the aged are deeply concerned. The responsibilities connected with them cannot be avoided by postponing their consideration; and if they are too solemn to engage the attention of the young during their school-boy days, because they must then be inculcated upon minds necessarily occupied in the reception of secular instruction, it may be urged, with still greater force, that they are too solemn to be mingled with the more busy cares and pleasures of maturer age. Thus the awfulness of religion has been urged by some worldly men as a reason for its neglect during the whole of their lives. We fear, therefore, the tendency of such reasoning.

Another evil suggested by this writer is that the anxiety which is often manifested to inculcate the doctrines of Scripture upon the minds of children is a plain intimation to the young, "that no trust is to be placed in their desire for religious information when the faculties shall have attained a competent degree of strength; that it is solely on their

weakness that we rely for impressing them with a belief in Scriptural truth," etc. A far-fetched objection is this, and but ill-sustained by the writer's beautiful allusion to the course of God's proceedings in the revelation of his truth, who did not give it all *during the infancy of the world*. Nor is the expression of the Apostle, "strong meat belongeth to them that are of full age," properly applicable to this point. The enlightened advocates of Scriptural instruction would not urge, any more than our reviewer, "the cramming of the mind" and the "loading of the memory" of the young with *all* the teachings of revelation. The "*milk of the word*" is no inconsiderable portion of it, and may be administered even to "*babes*" without injury.

In support of his second proposition the writer attributes much of the pride and secularity, and other evil traits of religious character in England, to the eagerness of the various sects to instruct the young in what they severally conceive to be the doctrines of revelation. This instruction he pronounces "a powerful engine for the formation of a religious or political partisan, but miserably defective as a means of fitting a being for eternity." His picture of the real state of religion may be too deeply colored, but these evils, as far as they do exist, cannot be too strongly deprecated. But are they all to be traced to the simple fact that the doctrines of Scripture have been taught in the schools of England? May they not have been equally and even more the result of that parental and parochial instruction, which our reviewer so earnestly commends, and to which he would have the whole business of religious education intrusted? Where is the evidence that the schoolmaster is more of a sectarian and partisan than the parent or the pastor? All that this reasoning proves is that the instruction has been wrong somewhere,—in the family, in the school, or in the church,—perhaps in them all. But if the spirit of the churches and their ministers is such as this writer represents them, we should rather attribute the evils complained of to these, than to any supposable influence exerted upon the children in primary schools.

That "Scriptural instruction" does not constitute what is properly called a "religious education" is argued from the fact that such an education implies the inculcation of certain sentiments and dispositions of "kindness, love and humanity," which he supposes are rather counteracted than promoted by the process of learning and committing to memory the lessons of Scripture set before children at school. This objection, however, has respect more to a defective mode of instruction than to the instruction itself. And though we admit that "no religious instruction can be comparable, for its effects upon the youthful heart, to that which falls, in the endearing accents of love and gentleness, from a mother's lips," yet we are not convinced that the schoolmaster may not do much by inculcating lessons of Scriptural morality and faith, to strengthen and perpetuate these effects. To the schoolmaster, therefore, as well as to the parent, we would intrust the free use of the Bible, and would desire to see the youth of our land as familiar with the book of revelation as with the book of nature. To us nothing appears plainer than that Scriptural instruction should be mingled in the whole process of our learning,

from infancy to age. We have no fear of evil from an early familiarity with the teachings of the word of God. The voice of Wisdom is: "Hearken unto me, O ye children, and be wise." All that we ask further is, that Scriptural instruction may be wisely and kindly inculcated, and in the spirit and simplicity of its own messages of love. On this principle a system of *national* education may be conducted in England, as well as among ourselves, "which shall be accessible to, and available for, the poor of all religious persuasions," who adopt the Bible as their standard of faith and practice.

ART. IV.—*Manufactures in Prussia*. This is an article of 53 pages reviewing the "*Report on the Prussian Commercial Union*," addressed to Lord Palmerston, by John Bowring; and presented to both Houses of Parliament by order of her Majesty: London, 1840. The "Commercial Union" here considered is a league proposed by Prussia and adopted by several of the Germanic states to regulate the Customs on foreign produce and manufactures. The object of its founders was to encourage the manufactures and commerce of Germany. This "Customs league" was adopted in its present extent in 1836, and the Report here reviewed, which was published in 1840, is complained of for containing no information of the operation of the league later than the close of the year 1837. Dr. Bowring is also severely censured by the reviewer, for having lost sight, as he conceives, of the true policy of the British nation, and for having fallen too easily into the mistaken views of the Continental states as to the value of their manufactures, which the reviewer argues, in opposition to the Report, have been encouraged to the great detriment of the agricultural interests of those states. To exhibit the basis on which reciprocity of trade between Great Britain and Germany ought to be founded, he investigates with considerable minuteness the capabilities of the German states both for agriculture and manufactures; and shows that, by the losses they are sustaining in the former, under the present system, they are paying an immense price for the "honor and glory" of being engaged in the latter.

The population of the states forming the Prussian league amounted, in 1838, to 28,048,970 souls, which exceeds the population of Great Britain. Its influence must, therefore, be great upon the manufacturing and commercial interests of the latter country. But to our readers generally, this discussion, though able and spirited, would be uninteresting.

ART. V.—This article, entitled *The Odes of Pindar*, is a review of "*Pindari Carmina*," 2 vols. 8vo. edid. L. Dissenius," and published at Göttingen in 1830. It occupies 32 pages, and contains many valuable philosophical remarks on the nature of poetry, and the characteristics of the lyric, epic and dramatic. It exhibits a brief and instructive history of Greek poetry, and of the Grecian poets who were also priests, whom the writer represents as probably differing from the Hebrew prophets and psalmists, "more in their alienation from the knowledge of God and the absence of the holy and good Spirit, than in their outward office. It

is characteristic," he says, "of the two nations, and of the work of Providence in their history, that in Greece the moral element, in Judea the poetical, ultimately became extinct."

Of Pindar he remarks, that "the glorious cloud-land of Greece never seems so bright and joyous as on his canvass." The characteristic of his fables "is grandeur and dignity,"—his style of narrative is "grave, austere and simple." His mind "concentrated and took up into itself the whole fullness of the civilization of his age." Public spirit, liberality, hospitality and sociality are constantly recurring themes of encomium in his works.

Next to his ethical dignity he is commended for his skill as an artist in the construction of his poems. But we shall not attempt to give a full enumeration of the topics of this review. It is rich and scholar-like, and for the sake of our classical readers, we regret that we have not space to insert the whole. The writer concludes with an account of the principal editions of Pindar which have been published, (of which there are many,) and gives his preference to that which is the subject of his review.

ART. VI.—*The Emperor Nicholas and the Present Government of Russia.* See Article I. in the present No. of the Eclectic.

ART. VII.—*Historical Publications in Italy.* This article, of 40 pages, is preceded by the following titles of works on Italy recently published.

1. *Historiæ Patriæ Monumenta, edita jussu Charoli Alberti. Chartarum Tomus I.* Augustæ Taurinorum, 1836.
Leges Municipales. Aug. Taurin, 1838.
Scriptores. Aug. Taurin, 1839.
2. *Documenti di Storia Italiana, copiati sugli originali autentici e per lo più esistenti in Parigi da Giuseppe Molini.* 2 vols. 8vo. Firenze, 1836.
3. *Istorie Florentine, scritte da Giovanni Cavalcanti con illustrazioni.* 2 vols. 8vo. Firenze, 1838.
4. *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato, raccolte, annotate ed edite da Eugenio Albèri a spese d' una società.* 3 vols. 8vo. Firenze, 1840.
5. *Carteggio inedito d' Artisti dei secoli xiv, xv, xvi, pubblicato ad illustrato con documenti pure inediti dal Dott.—Giovanni Gaye.* 2 vols. 8vo. Firenze, 1840.
6. *Enciclopedia Storica di Cesare Cantù.* Torino, 1838–40.
7. *Storia della pittura Italiana esposta con monumenti da Giovanni Rosini.* 2 vols. Pisa, 1840.

In remarking upon these works the reviewer gives a stirring description of the materials which exist in Italy for historical narrative, and of our age as the age of history, the present having succeeded to a generation whose object it was to war with the past.

We have then an instructive account of the efforts of the Italians, since the close of the French revolution, to complete their historical re-

searches. The result has been the discovery of a vast collection of manuscripts and other documents of great value, deposited in the royal library at Paris, and other libraries, many of which have been used to enrich the historical works above named. The most interesting of these publications is a complete collection of the *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, of which our reviewer gives the following account :

It is well known that, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the principal Italian families, who had taken part in the management of public affairs, enriched their family archives with large collections of state-papers, accumulated during their administration at home, or in the course of their embassies abroad. This practice was more generally observed in Venice, where the patrician families held for a longer period the sovereignty of the state. The collections of manuscripts invariably attached to the library of every Venetian magnate, and which related for the most part to the affairs of the republic, were to a great extent dispersed on the general subversion of that ancient aristocracy in 1797 ; but a few of these private archives are still in existence, and are shown by the owners to their guests with a melancholy complacency,

col misero orgoglio d' un tempo che fu.

In the year 1296 it was ordered by a decree of the Great Council, that all the Venetian ambassadors should, on their return, read before the senate an account of their mission, which was afterwards to be deposited in the state-archives—a practice regularly observed until the last days of the republic. These papers, which “had gradually increased to a large library, furnishing the lover of modern history with one of the richest treasures of authentic documents,” after undergoing severe losses in the first heat of republican devastation during the French invasion, when manuscripts were wantonly scattered in every direction, and sold by the French soldiers for waste paper, shared at last the fate of the remaining archives, and travelled across the Alps to France and Germany, whence a great part of them have never returned.

Diligent search has been made for these memorials in the libraries of Paris and Vienna, and in the private museums of noblemen, by Professor Ranke and other German and Italian scholars, but particularly by the Marquis Gino Capponi, who intrusted the compilation of them to Eugenio Albèri, the author of the collection above named. These documents are considered of the highest authority for veracity and candor. We cannot deny our readers the following amusing specimen, which the reviewer pronounces “*a naïve*, but on the whole fair and correct description” of England, by the Senator Vincenzo Quirini, during a short stay at the court of Henry VII., and concerning which he remarks : “It would not be easy to point out another government in that remote age, whose ambassador took the pains, or was able, during a few weeks residence, to collect and bring home such an amount of statistical information.”

England is a large island and a fertile kingdom, joined with Scotland towards the north, in such a manner, that at low water one can travel

on foot from one end of the country to the other. On the northwest (Maestro) lies Ireland (Ibernia), at one day's sail from the coast. This island of England is divided into three principal parts, viz. Anglia, Vallia and Cornovallia, and the language of each of them so essentially differs from the others, that the people of the different divisions cannot understand each other. In these three parts there may be about twenty-two cities and fifty walled towns, between large and small, besides nearly one thousand three hundred villages; all which places now peacefully obey the present king of England, a man of about forty-four years of age, rather well made than otherwise, clever, prudent, neither much hated nor yet greatly beloved by his subjects. He has only one son, his heir, the Prince of Wales, called Henry (afterwards Henry VIII.) a youth about sixteen years old, naturally a *French-hater*, and married to a princess of Spain. He was born in 1491, June 28.

This King of England receives, as a revenue of the crown-property, and likewise from taxes and duties, a sum of 100,000 ducats per annum.* Besides, from the duties raised on all the towns and provinces in the island, a yearly revenue of 400,000 ducats. Moreover, from the tithes he takes from the clergy every three years, and from the property which reverts to the crown at the demise of every bishop, 100,000 ducats; also, as guardian of the orphans of the nobility, 150,000 ducats. He has an additional income of about 500,000 ducats yearly, from the confiscation of property belonging to the principal dukes and lords of the realm whom he hath put to death. The whole amount of the royal revenue is therefore about one million three hundred thousand ducats.

Now this same king doth not lay out in household expenses and in the maintenance of his men-at-arms and fortresses more than half a million of ducats; and even due allowance being made for extraordinary expenses, he can never dispose of two-thirds of his income, so that it is generally believed, that after so many years of reign he must be the wealthiest of all the monarchs of Christendom. Now this said king, so rich, hath only nineteen lay lords under his control in all his kingdom between dukes, earls, marquesses and princes; many more he used to have heretofore, but in order to feel more at ease on his throne, he hath, as I have said, curtailed the number of them. These lords that yet remain have altogether an income of 380,000 ducats. The dukes of Norfolk and Northumberland, who are the greatest among them, have each a yearly income of 30,000 ducats; the poorest have only from nine to twelve thousand, the middling even fifteen thousand a year. The above-said king hath also in his states twenty-two excellent bishoprics, and archbishoprics, whose revenue is, on the whole, 210,000 ducats; some of them have thirty, some from fifteen to twenty-four, some only from two to ten thousand a year. The right of conferring these bishoprics resides exclusively in the king. There are in the country also fifty six Benedictine and Augustine monasteries, both for monks and nuns, and their united income amounts to 400,000 ducats; the best endowed have a revenue of fifteen to twenty-four, but the others have only from one to ten thousand ducats a year. Moreover, there are fifty monas-

* The gold ducat, or Venetian sequin, equivalent to nine shillings and sixpence.

teries of the order of St. Bernard, and these yield an income of 77,000 ducats; add to these, three Carthusian monasteries and two houses of the Knights of Rhodes, whose joint revenue is 72,000 ducats a year. There are five thousand two hundred parish churches and about ten thousand priests in all England, and these enjoy an annual income of about 120,000 ducats. The sum total of the church revenue amounts, therefore, to 860,000 ducats.

The rest of the wealth of England lies in the hands of the merchants, of whom there is a vast number throughout the country. The inhabitants of that part of the country which is called Vallia are tall, fine men, brave and warlike, naturally haughty, and rather inclined to war than to any other honest employment. In Anglia they are more polite and gentle, more wealthy, more addicted to commerce and trade. In Cornovallia they are more wild and ferocious, and poorer than in any part of the island; they are naturally disposed to rebel against their sovereign, and always fond of novelty. They have an inborn hatred of the French, and entertain no great opinion of that nation's warlike abilities. They are generally brave; they travel almost always on foot, armed with a bow and arrows; these are their favorite weapons, those in which they seem to have most skill and confidence.

Besides the publications at the head of this review, the writer remarks on several other works of a general character, recently announced, which have raised sanguine expectations, as more immediately conducive to a general compilation of Italian history. And this phalanx of authors, he says, is brought forward, "to put an end to that constant and unmerited reproach which meets us everywhere, that we receive nothing from Italy,—that Italy gives no signs of life." He adds, however:

In all the works above enumerated, and in others of an analogous nature, it is not, we believe, difficult to perceive the symptoms of that "*animus immoderatus, nimis alta petens*" inherited by the Italians from their Roman forefathers; but which, while it admirably beseeemed the rulers of the world, in their present state of division and dependence, speaks rather in favor of their magnificence and disinterestedness than of their prudence and rationality. "*Fare il passo secondo la gamba*" is however a phrase of their own. But the state of seclusion in which they are kept by that kind of literary quarantine established by the mean-spirited jealousy of their governments, hardly allows them to consider themselves as members of the great European family; so that of the headlong march of intellect so wonderfully changing the state of civilized societies, only a faint sound is heard on the sunny side of the Alps. Consequently, there is in Italy more daring of conception than power of execution; more energy of life, more want of exertion, than can be turned to profitable objects; more impatience and restlessness than real strength and serenity of mind. The Italian thinker sinks into despondency, as he sees the result at which he arrived, late and weary, after years of solitary efforts, thrown into utter insignificance by the wide and rapid attainments to which a wise distribution of labor has led the numerous scientific associations abroad.

ART. VIII.—*The Porte and the Pasha :—The Foreign Policy of England.* As we have already published, in our No. for March, an article on this general subject, which assumes substantially the same ground as the one now before us, we deem it unnecessary to attempt an analysis of this. We need only remark that it is a dignified and able discussion of the relations between England, France and Russia, spread over 36 pages of the Review. The writer disapproves of the policy of the present administration of the British government, and presumes that no section of the liberal party will support the minister for foreign affairs in the approaching discussions in Parliament. He earnestly protests against the popular opposition to the present policy of France, for the sake of the liberal party throughout the world.—SR. ED.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, NO. CXLVI., JANUARY, 1841,

ART. I.—*Napier's History of the Peninsular War.* This is an interesting article of 50 pages, on Colonel Napier's valuable work, now complete in six volumes. The reviewer's opinion of its merits may be gathered from the following language :

The result of this labor is a rare contribution to the literature of the world, full of lessons of deep wisdom to men of all ranks and classes, and of every time and country ; but more especially fraught with instruction for the people of England, illustrating, as it does, the principles upon which this terrible contest was undertaken, and criticising, with unsparing severity and truth, the mode in which it was conducted. . . . It is well for England, it is well for the world, that an historian, skilled in the services of politics and war, and of a lofty and severe morality, has been bold enough to apply himself to this great task, and so fortunate as to bring it to a happy issue. . . . Judging his work as a testimony, we find that it brings before us a new, correct and striking view of a series of transactions of importance, equalling any that are recorded in the story of mankind. Looking at it as a work of art, it demands our admiration as a clear, nervous and interesting narrative, enriched with profound and original disquisitions on the art with which he is peculiarly conversant, viz., that of war, and of which the campaigns he describes afford unequalled illustrations. The style, indeed, may perhaps be criticised by some as quaint, by others as florid, labored and something declamatory ; but we will confess that to us it has a charm which disarms all criticism. It is original, it is borrowed from none, like unto none ; it seems the honest outpourings of a man of keen sensibility and chivalrous temper. . . . As laymen we cannot pretend to give an opinion upon the scientific criticism with which the work abounds ; but this we feel ourselves compelled to say, Colonel Napier has persuaded us, whether correctly or not we will not attempt to decide, that we now really understand the military transactions he describes. Hitherto, all narratives of warlike affairs have been to us great mysteries. . . . We fancy, at least, that we now know something of the leading principles of scientific warfare.

Most of the article is devoted to a general discussion of the policy and conduct of the Peninsular War. The attitude, which England had previously taken against the French, the reviewer strongly condemns. "We had joined a league of despots against a people struggling to be free." "This original sin clung to our hostility throughout." "We attacked Napoleon in Spain, not because he was unjust to Spain; but because his injustice had made a whole people his enemies, and rendered him vulnerable to our assault." "We were here, as elsewhere in this contest, on the side of established institutions warring against all change." And not only was the war wrong in principle. It was begun and continued in gross ignorance of the character and resources of the Spanish people, as well as the certain obstinacy and hazard of the struggle, and it was so happily terminated only through the consummate skill and the singular good fortune of the Duke of Wellington. The reviewer is also very severe upon the conduct of Spain and Portugal. He represents the inhabitants of both countries as deficient in bravery, patriotism, generosity and humanity.

ART. II.—*The Life and Genius of Rubens. Translated from the German of Dr. Waagen, by Robert R. Noell, Esq.* London, 1840. The reviewer begins with commending Dr. Waagen's choice of his subject, but expresses his regret that the mode in which he has executed his undertaking falls far below the propriety of his selection. The title of the book he pronounces a misnomer. It is rather a *catalogue raisonnée* of the works of Rubens, than a clear and comprehensive view of his artistical character. To supply in some measure this deficiency in the work of his author is the object of the reviewer. His discussion fills about twenty pages in the Edinburgh, and appears to be discriminating and just. Endowed by nature with a genius of no common order, and eminently distinguished in his profession, the character of Rubens has been the subject of much discussion and controversy. By some he has been extravagantly extolled, and by others unjustly depreciated. His excellences and defects are here balanced with apparent candor and fairness, showing him to stand, perhaps, without a rival as an ornamental painter, while his life presents an interesting picture of private virtues and rare endowments.

ART. III.—We have here an article of 43 pages, on the *wrongs and claims of Indian commerce*. It is a review of several *Reports and Essays* on the productive resources of India, the Petition of the East India Company to the House of Lords for relief, etc., all published in London, 1840. The questions here considered have respect to the policy of the government of Great Britain in relation to her colonies and dependencies. These questions are now at issue, and zealously contested, between those who desire to promote the agricultural and commercial prosperity of *British India*, and the body of West Indian proprietors, backed, as we are told, by certain classes in England. The reviewer commences with deprecating the too prevalent belief in England, "that regulation is commerce, and that taxes are revenue." The existing regulations, however, are shown to act very unequally upon the interests of the parties in controversy.

Hitherto, with some exceptions, in very recent times, there has been a strange propensity on the part of our statesmen to look upon British India as a step-child, and to subject it to many and great disadvantages as compared with more favored possessions; and pertinaciously to refuse to treat it as a member of a great body, one and indivisible in respect to rights and interests. It is impossible to give a stronger proof of the truth of this allegation than the simple fact, that the term "British possessions" in acts of Parliament, tariffs, and the like, is always held to be exclusive of the most valuable dominions of the British Crown, merely because they are governed by the instrumentality of the East India Company. The colonies of the Crown, taking their cue from the conduct of the mother country, have uniformly regarded their sister dependency as an alien, treating goods imported from British India as "foreign."

Discriminating duties are levied upon the productions of British India, the effect of which is wholly to exclude several important articles from the English market, and to give an entire monopoly of trade in these articles, as rum, sugar, etc., to the West Indies. The East India Company ask for no exclusive privileges, but merely to be put on an equal footing with others, and to be allowed a fair field of competition for the benefit of supplying the British market. And our reviewer contends earnestly that this equality of privilege ought to be granted, not on account of moral considerations alone, but on the ground of the direct pecuniary obligations of the government to the only one of her foreign possessions which supports its own civil and military establishments; thus bearing the whole expense of maintaining the integrity of dominions, of the vast extent and importance of which every Englishman is proud to speak. To this equality of treatment the advocates of the West Indian interests are strenuously opposed. But the documents, evidences and statistical information contained in this review, amply sustain the claims of British India. The article presents also some interesting facts and reasonings in respect to the effects of the late abolition of slavery in the West Indies.

ART. IV—*Ancient Spanish Ballads, Historical and Romantic. Translated, with Notes, by J. G. Lockhart.* London, 1841. This work is here made the subject of a review of thirty-five pages. We have read it with less satisfaction than we anticipated from the interest awakened in our minds by the subject. "The ancient ballads of Spain," says the writer, "exceed in number and in importance those of all Europe besides; and they form the best heroic as well as lyric poetry of Spain. To the stranger they are one of the most interesting branches of her limited literature." And yet he gives not one specimen of these ballads in the whole compass of his review. He, however, warmly recommends the perusal of Mr. Lockhart's book in which the English translation of these ballads is said, by Mr. Hallam and others, admirably to preserve the spirit and life of the originals. He makes it quite clear also, that the Spanish Ballads were exceedingly ancient, and his remarks on the state of society in which poetry naturally originates, are strikingly descriptive.

In nascent societies of mankind, as in the youth of individuals, the imagination precedes the judgment. Men are born poets, and lisp in verse: they *harden* into prose—into the exact sciences—as they get older, when the head gains on the heart. The name of the inventor of poetry and of the plough, which is poetical, is unknown. Not so that of the culprit who devised prose, Pherecides the Syrian, (Plin. N. H. VII. 56,) nor of the inventor of the steam-engine and spinning-jenny; excellent machines, which make every thing but verses.

ART. V.—*Customs Duties:—The Effects of the Protective System.* This article is a review of the “Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the several duties levied on Imports into the United Kingdom; and how far those Duties are for Protection to similar articles, etc. London, 1840.”

The duties on imports exert an immense effect on the trade, manufactures and agriculture of the British empire; and it must be admitted that of late they have produced a great disturbance in the domestic industry of the country, which they were designed to protect.

No one who has paid attention to the progress of our manufactures, can be ignorant that a great revolution has commenced with regard to the demand for them in foreign markets; for in some countries we have been partially supplanted by foreign competition, and from others wholly expelled. The evidence given before the Committee fully establishes these facts; for though it is true, that new markets have been opened in some of our colonies, and elsewhere, the present state of markets generally, imperatively demands that every thing should be done that the legislature can do, to enable our manufacturers to maintain a successful competition with foreign rivals. Besides the recent renewal and extension of the Prussian League, and some new restrictions on our manufactures imposed by Russia, Belgium and Spain, the termination of the existing tariff of import duties in the United States in 1841, and of our commercial treaty with Brazil in 1844, are occurrences calculated to excite strong apprehensions as to the means of upholding our manufacturing superiority. The duties, that the United States and Brazil will impose on our manufactures, will in all probability be so entirely prohibitory, (unless we consent to admit the productions of these countries into our ports,) that the time is arrived when the serious question must be seriously met—Whether it is fit that we should go on sacrificing our greatest national interests to the practice of giving protection to the private interests of a comparatively small portion of the community.

The writer gives a short and very lucid account of the Protective Policy, which was introduced into European policy by M. Colbert in France, 1667. Its object was the encouragement of domestic industry. But at that time nothing was known as to the sources of national industry and wealth. Statesmen judged from first appearances. The injurious effects of the system in France, however, have been amply attested by experience. And since its adoption in England, her relations to other nations

have undergone changes so great that the effects of the policy in many cases are the reverse of what it was intended to produce. The schedule of the present tariff embraces 1150 duties, and of these very few have been levied for the purposes of revenue alone. They are protective duties on timber, corn, silk, sugar, coffee, etc. etc.; and our reviewer shows in detail that in almost every case the protection, by raising the price of the article, diminishes the amount of its sale or consumption, and thus in the end lessens the revenue derived from it. As the result of this examination, he urges the practicability and importance of an entire new modelling of each branch of the protecting duties.

ART. VI.—*The Expedition to the Niger:—The Civilization of Africa.* The subject of this article is one which has of late excited much interest and not a little discussion among the statesmen and philanthropists of England. Our readers are aware that three iron steam-vessels have been lately built by the British government, and are on the point of proceeding up the Niger, to prepare the way for the extinction of the slave trade by means of the civilization of Africa, in pursuance of a plan suggested by Sir Thomas Buxton, Mr. M'Queen and others. The friends of the expedition entertain high hopes of its entire success,—its opposers regard it as nothing better than a new and unhappy chapter in the history of African colonization,—another costly and miserable failure, fraught with great waste of life and treasure, and bringing no good to Africa. The following is our reviewer's statement of the case and of his object in this discussion:

The Expedition, as we understand it, has one object—namely, to explore and survey the ground, with a view to ascertain the practicability of further measures, and the most effectual way of conducting them; and there is one question to be previously determined—namely, whether the reasons, for expecting some considerable benefit to issue from such a survey, are strong enough to justify the risk and outlay which must attend it. Our present object is, simply and briefly to set forth our grounds for deciding this question in the affirmative. To us it appears, that within the last few years a new hope has been opened for Africa,—a new opportunity, distinct in some essential features from any that has hitherto presented itself, of bringing into cultivation some portions, at least, of this vast, neglected estate, to the great benefit of the world; that it lies with England to improve this opportunity; and that the first and indispensable condition of any successful movement in that direction, is to send out an expedition duly equipped and appointed to examine and explore the path; the information which we now possess being sufficient, as we think, to prove that *much* may be done; but neither full enough, nor certain enough, to teach us either how much, or what, or in what way.

The writer proceeds to consider the capabilities of Africa, its inexhaustible fertility, the influence of the trade of the Arab and Moorish merchants across the great desert,—the effects and prospects of the Eng-

lish and American settlements on its western coast, the sources of its traffic, its climate, the present state of its inhabitants, and their interests, which he thinks may be greatly promoted by the substitution of a legitimate commerce in place of the slave trade. The article is on the whole able and satisfactory, but as we shall have occasion to take up this subject in the future Nos. of the Eclectic, we omit any further remarks on it here.

ART. VII.—*Financial State of the Public Roads in England and Wales.*

This is of course a subject of but little interest to our readers generally. But as good roads are not only a great convenience, but a luxury in which there is no danger of excess, we may be allowed to express a word of sympathy with our mother country in her fears of deterioration in these desirable accommodations. Her turnpike trusts are in trouble!

The Report of the Commissioners informs us, that there are 1116 turnpike trusts in England and Wales, which average about $19\frac{1}{2}$ miles in extent; comprehending altogether 22,000 miles of road. It also states, that the number of local turnpike acts is about 3800, and that on an average of the last five years, the maintenance and improvement of roads have cost £45 per mile; and the salaries of 3555 officers appointed by the trustees, and legal expenses, a further sum of £6 a mile; making a total of £51 for their maintenance. The average income for 1838, and the four preceding years, derived from tolls and incidental profits, was £1,490,517 per annum. There is also a statement of the amount of debt, showing it to have reached, by rapidly increasing strides, the enormous amount of £8,345,267!

Various remedies are proposed for this state of things, as the consolidation of trusts, the assumption of the debts by the government, etc.; but our reviewer expresses his most confident hope in the diminution of the expense of travelling and transportation by the multiplication of railroads.

ART. VIII.—*The Comic Dramatists of the Restoration.* We have here the beginning of a review of the *Dramatic Works of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquar, with Biographical and Critical Notices, by Leigh Hunt.* London, 1840. It has been doubted, and we think not without good reason, whether works of the character of these ought to be republished. Our reviewer however thinks the present publication perfectly justifiable, for reasons which he urges at some length. But he by no means agrees with Mr. Hunt, who holds that there is little or no ground for the charge of immorality so often brought against the literature of the Restoration. On the contrary he judges it not easy to be too severe in this censure. "In truth," he says, "this part of our literature is a disgrace to our language and national character. It is clever, indeed, and very entertaining; but it is in the most emphatic sense of the words, 'earthly, sensual, devilish.'" It must be acknowledged, in justice to these writers, that they were to a great extent, the creatures of their age. The great depravation of the national taste of that age our reviewer does not

hesitate to attribute to the effects of the prevalence of Puritanism under the commonwealth. And this he argues with no little plausibility. The government, "not content with requiring decency, required sanctity," and thus, by its injudicious demands, produced a reaction in the public mind.

Then comes a review of the four authors named in the above title of Mr. Hunt's work. Wycherley, the writer thinks, "stands last in literary merit, but first in the order of time, and first, beyond all doubt, in immorality." He was born in 1640, and it is truly sickening to pursue the brief rehearsal here given of the details which form the characteristics of his life. The writer next considers the life, character and writings of Congreve. He too, though far less depraved than Wycherley, was a man of intemperate habits and addicted to shameful immoralities, the spirit of which breathes in the productions of his pen.

At the close of thirty-nine pages, the reviewer stops abruptly, remarking that "Vanbrugh and Farquar are not men to be hastily dismissed, and we have not left ourselves space to do them justice." So we may expect to hear from the same writer again in the Edinburgh.

ART. IX.—*Mehemet Ali, Lord Palmerston, Russia and France.* So many are the discussions, in the British periodicals, of the causes of the late disagreement between England and France, that it is equally in vain and unnecessary for us to lay the substance of each before our readers. We shall endeavor to make such selections, from time to time, as shall furnish for our work a correct account of the most important facts and bearings of the policy and measures of the European nations in respect to the East. In the mean time many discussions of considerable ability and value can receive from us only a passing notice. Such is the review before us. It fills about thirty pages, and sharply accuses the French government of duplicity and dishonorable concealment in its communications to the representatives of the Four Powers, which he thinks was an ample justification of their omitting to ask the signature of France to the Treaty of July 15. The policy of the British government is also here in some measure defended, though not wholly approved; and Russia is treated with more respect and confidence than in most of the articles on this subject which come to us from the English press. SR. ED.

THE QUARTERLY REVIEW, NO. CXXXIV., MARCH, 1841.

THIS is one of the four English Quarterlies which, for several years past, have been reprinted in this country, but which, for the satisfaction of our readers, most of whom it is presumed are not furnished with these works entire, we have thought it proper to embrace in our *Review of Reviews*. We shall occasionally be able to notice them in this way before their appearance in the reprints, as in the present instance.

The *Quarterly Review* is highly conservative in its character, and

generally contains some articles of great ability and worth, of which we shall avail ourselves in our selections. The following are the topics discussed in the present No.

ART. I.—*History of Scotland*. By Patrick Fraser Tytler, Esq. Vol. VII. Edinburgh, 1840. This volume of Tytler's history is the last but one of his proposed series, which, when completed, will no doubt become, and long remain, the standard History of Scotland. It is here introduced with high encomiums on the author for his industry in searching out historical documents and his talent in condensing and employing them. This volume comprises the most brilliant, but by far the most difficult part of his undertaking,—the history of the reign of the ill-fated *Mary Queen of Scots*. "No period of any history has been the scene of more fierce and stubborn controversies; over none have prejudice and passion cast a deeper veil." Yet Mr. Tytler has succeeded in eliciting many new and important facts even from this exhausted field, and "has threaded his way amidst the surrounding discoveries, never heedless of their arguments, never blind to their lights, yet always remembering that his own object is, and ought to be, a narrative, not a dissertation." The ground taken by the reviewer will be seen in the following remarks:

We must confess, however, that we are not quite pleased with the conclusion to which Mr. Tytler at length arrives: "It is difficult," says he, "to draw any certain conclusion as to the probability of Mary's guilt or innocence in the murder of her husband. . . . Upon the whole, it appears to me that, in the present state of the controversy, we are really not in possession of sufficient evidence to enable any impartial inquirer to come to an absolute decision." It appears to us, on the contrary, that Mr. Tytler's own labors have done much to resolve such doubts, and will appear far more conclusive to others than they have done to himself. We do not see any reason for leaving the mind under what Mr. Tytler proceeds to call "this painful and unsatisfying impression." The documents on this controversy are, perhaps, more ample than on any other disputed point in history; and the time has come when there is no longer any political object in perverting them. No longer is it attempted to serve an exiled family by proving that no Stuart could possibly do wrong. No longer is it deemed the best proof of loyalty to the reigning House of Hanover to heap insults and invectives on one of its own lineal ancestors. In short, if we forbear to judge, the fault, as we conceive, lies no longer in the deficiency of information, nor yet in the prevalence of party.

In this conviction we will endeavor, however imperfectly, yet as the result of a careful study of the question, to supply the gap left by Mr. Tytler, or rather, as jurors, to decide upon the evidence he has so ably laid before us.

The writer proceeds, with the new lights furnished by Mr. Tytler, to recapitulate the leading events of the period in question, and though he has repeated many facts already known to most readers we think he has done much to unravel the tangled web of the controversies by which their

relations and bearings have ever been obscured. The result of the whole is the conclusion, at the close of a review of forty pages, and, as we think well sustained, that, though Mary had resigned herself to her strong and shameful passion for a most unworthy object, her infatuation for Bothwell, she had no foreknowledge of, or participation in, the conspiracy which resulted in the murder of Darnley.

ART. II.—*Tours in the Russian Provinces.* See Article X., in the present No. of the *Eclectic*.

ART. III.—*A Tour to the Sepulchres of Etruria in 1839.* By Mrs. Hamilton Gray. London, 1840. The main facts embraced in our actual knowledge of the Etruscan are the following :

The first is the establishment in Italy, for many centuries previous to the foundation of Rome, of a mighty people, which has left traces of its civilization inferior in grandeur perhaps to the monuments of Egypt, in beauty to those of Greece, but, with these exceptions, surpassing in both the relics of any other nation of remote antiquity. Their government was a rigid aristocracy, by what laws of inheritance preserved and regulated we are uncertain, but monopolizing to its own ranks, and uniting in the same hands, the functions of the priest, the lawgiver, and the leader of armies. After having given rulers, and imparted to a large extent laws, rites and usages to Rome, they fell before that power, and, though their language long survived their independence and separate existence, as is testified by inscriptions so late as the period of the empire, it finally perished. From the close affinity of its alphabet to the Greek, we are able to read its records still extant, on the portals and interior walls of sepulchres, but the key to its construction and meaning is lost. Beyond proper names and their occasional identification with the Roman version of such, we can deduce little more from the inscriptions of Etruria than strong corroboration of the fact asserted by ancient authors, that their language was entirely distinct from the Greek, and from that portion of the Latin at least which we are accustomed to consider as of Greek parentage. It was written in Oriental fashion, from right to left.

Their sepulchral practices have been the principal means of preserving to us the evidences of their advanced state of civilization. The mode of sepulture varied at different periods and in different parts of their confederation. The corpse was sometimes left entire in a sarcophagus or on a bier; in other instances it was burnt, and the ashes inurned after the manner of the Romans and others. It appears probable that the former was the older and purely national practice, but in both cases the sepulchre of the wealthy or the great was in fact a subterranean museum, a picture-gallery, a sculpture-room, and place of deposit for innumerable objects illustrative of their usages, social habits and mythology.

The work of Mrs. Gray is highly commended as containing a rich variety of descriptions, from personal observation, of the interior of these

ancient sepulchres. The following specimens, with several others, are given in this review :

Campanari said that he was excavating as usual in a rough but quiet-looking spot, when suddenly he heard a great crash, the earth fell in, and he found himself standing in the centre of twelve figures, all with their raised and ornamented heads staring at him, and wondering why he came to give them such disturbance. He said he really felt frightened for a time, and inclined to run away, for whichever side he looked there were the red and fiery faces, and the peculiarly stern expression of their reproachful figures. Their bodies were all covered with earth, and their heads only above the soil; and they looked like beings from beneath, come to sit in judgment on him for violating their repose.—p. 321.

By far the most striking instance, however, of such success is that of Carlo Avolta, of Corneto :

He was conducting an excavation at Tarquinia, in partnership with the late Lord Kinnaid, when he was rewarded, for his expenditure of trouble and money, by an enjoyment which, he says, was the most exquisite of his life—the discovery of an Etruscan monarch, with his crown and panoply. He entirely confirmed the account which I had received in Rome of his adventure with the lucumo, on whom he gazed, for full five minutes, from the aperture above the door of his sepulchre. He saw him crowned with gold, clothed in armor, with a shield, spear and arrows by his side, and extended on his stone bier. But a change soon came over the figure, it trembled and crumbled, and vanished away; and, by the time an entrance was effected, all that remained was the golden crown and a handful of dust, with some fragments of the arms. Part of these became the property of Lord Kinnaid.—p. 206.

From Veii Mrs. Gray transports her readers to the necropolis of Tarquinia, near the modern Corneto. Her own words will best convey some notion of the extent of this field for research :

The day after our arrival at Corneto we devoted to the tombs of Tarquinia, and we drove to the distance of about three miles from the town, until we found ourselves in the midst of a dreary moor, now called Monterozzi, which is all that remains above ground of the once superb necropolis, or burying-ground. It is extremely rugged and uneven, and every now and then we saw traces of some little mounds, and, still more frequently, holes on the surface like the mouths of pits, sometimes openings like doors down into the ground, and occasionally flights of steps, half concealed. . . . Signor Carlo Avolta informed us that the necropolis of Tarquinia was computed to extend over sixteen square miles; and that, judging from the two thousand tombs which had of late years been opened, their number in all could not be less than two millions. What an extraordinary idea this gives of the dense population of ancient Etruria! for though the necropolis of Tarquinia may have been a favorite spot for family sepulchres, even beyond the pale of its own immediate citizenship, it is surrounded on all sides by cemeteries scarcely inferior in extent to itself—Tuscania and Volci, and

Monalto, without naming Castel d' Asso, which we shall afterwards describe as having probably been the Westminster Abbey of Central Etruria.—p. 159.

ART. IV.—*The State of Society and Education in France.* See Article VIII. in the present No. of the Eclectic.

ART. V.—*Fugitive Verses.* By Joanna Baillie. London, 1840. Mrs. Baillie is a lady of high reputation as a poetess, and of most excellent character. Specimens of her former publications are here given, particularly of her excellent dramas, which, however, have not succeeded well on the stage. Her *Fugitive Pieces* are written in a variety of styles, and are warmly commended by our reviewer for their poetical merit, and their unexceptionable morality.

ART. VI.—*Recollections of a Staff Surgeon.* The work here reviewed, in an article of 28 pages, is in two volumes, 8vo., published in Quebec, 1839, and entitled: *Trifles from my Portfolio; or Recollections of Scenes and Small Adventures during Twenty-nine Years' Military Service.* The author is Dr. Henry, who was for a long time attached to the 66th Regiment of the British Army, and saw much service in the Peninsula, in India and in other parts of the world. His observation of the men and manners of different countries, and of the great actors in the wars of Europe, during the splendid triumphs and final overthrow and banishment of Buonaparte, was extensive, and his "Recollections" present many stirring and interesting scenes. Not a few of these are briefly quoted in this review, accompanied with remarks and strictures of some value. On the whole the author is commended as a worthy and clever man, and his work, as entertaining and instructive.

ART. VII.—*Correspondence of the Committee of Public Safety.* Such is the title of this article of twenty pages. It is a review of a French work,—*La Révolution telle qu'elle est; ou Correspondance inédite du Comité de Salut public avec les Généraux et les Représentans du peuple en Mission près les armées et dans les départements pendant les années 1793, 4, et 5.* Paris, 1837, 2 Vols.

The reviewer complains of the boundless impudence of this title-page, which promises much more than the work accomplishes. It has, however, brought out some documents from the secret correspondence of the "Committee of Public Safety" in France, during the three most interesting years of French history, from August, 1792, to the autumn of 1795, which throw light on the dark and mysterious events of that period of cruelty, falsehood and terror. To illustrate these documents, and thus further to explain the causes which operated to produce the terrific character of the French Revolution is the object of the review. But it contains not much that is new, and the points under consideration are not such as are especially interesting, excepting to one intent on minute and philosophical inquiries.

ART. VIII.—*The United States Boundary Question.* The documents with which this article is headed are the following :

1. *Correspondence relating to the North American Boundary.* Presented by command of her Majesty. A and B. 1838.
2. *Report of the British Commissioners appointed to survey the Territory in dispute between Great Britain and the United States of America on the Northeastern Boundary of the United States ; with an Appendix.* Presented to Parliament by command of her Majesty. July, 1840.
3. *The Right of the United States of America to the Northeastern Boundary claimed by them.* Principally extracted from the Statements laid before the King of the Netherlands, and revised by Albert Gallatin ; with an Appendix and eight Maps. New-York. 1840.
4. *A Brief History of the United States Boundary Question.* Drawn up from Official Papers, by G. P. R. James, Esq. London. 1839.

The article is written in a conciliatory spirit, and, as we think, with great ability. It is a thorough review of the whole question of our Northeastern Boundary, extended to forty pages. The writer begins by expressing his agreement with Mr. Gallatin in the opinion that "it would be the height of madness and wickedness" for the two governments "to come to a rupture" on this question, and that it is their duty speedily to devise and adopt the means necessary for its adjustment. But he wholly differs from Mr. G. in his belief that "there is no British jury nor British chancellor, who would not, on hearing the cause, decide in favor of the American claim." Mr. G. finds no difficulty in the case, except in the "tedious details" of its history. The reviewer says,—"*tedious* is not the word ; he should have said *obscure, intricate, contradictory, unintelligible.*" He then gives a map of the disputed territory, accompanied with the words of the treaty of 1783, intended to fix "the boundaries of the said United States," and shows, as we think successfully, that the terms of the treaty cannot be applied with any certainty in support of either of the lines claimed by the two governments. After a brief statement of the first questions which arose, he adds :

In this narrative stage of our observations it is enough to say, that, after forty years of fruitless discussion, they were, in 1833, referred to the arbitration of the King of the Netherlands, who found it impossible to reconcile either the claims of the parties or the features of the country with the terms of the treaty ; and he, therefore, rejected both claims, and proposed, by way of expedient, another line—differing from both—which he recommended the parties to adopt, as a *mezzo termine* and substitute for the impracticable provisions of the treaty.

In this recommendation Great Britain would, it seems, have acquiesced ; but the United States rejected it, on the ground that the Umpire, having been only empowered to decide *which* was the true boundary under the treaty, and not having been able to decide *that*, had surpassed his powers in recommending another and purely arbitrary line. We confess that we are equally surprised at the British acceptance and the American rejection of this award ; and, much as we desire a settlement

of the question, we are sincerely glad that this arrangement was not concluded; for it seems to us that it would have been almost as injurious to England as the whole American pretension, and a fruitful source of future quarrel.

He then introduces a proposition submitted by Mr. Livingston, under President Jackson's administration, in 1833, offering "to substitute, for the '*due north line*,' another, which would have given to Great Britain, the greater part, if not the whole of the disputed territory." These are the words, not of the proposition, but of our reviewer, who expresses his deep regret that Lord Palmerston threw away so favorable an opportunity of an arrangement; and this proposition, or one equivalent to it, he hopes may yet be renewed by the American government.

The writer then proceeds to a detailed examination of the words of the treaty, prescribing the boundary in dispute,—comparing them with the face of the country, as since proved by surveys, and the evidences derived from the correspondence and instructions of the two governments, as to the general intentions of the parties when they made the original treaty. The result of the whole is an argument greatly in favor of the line claimed by the British government. He adds:

We cannot persuade ourselves that any man in any part of the United States, whose candor and good sense are not obscured by some party or local interest, can look at the shape, position and nature of the disputed territory; at the circuitous and extravagant extent of the American line, which seems to be more than twice as long as the comparatively straight and simple boundary offered by England; and, above all, at the relative convenience and value of the disputed territory to the respective countries, without feeling the strongest conviction that the British line is that which must express the original intentions of the parties. We go further—we hope, nay, we believe, that, if the question were now to be negotiated *ab integro* (clear of the adverse feelings which the long discussion may have generated), there is no American citizen, or at least statesman, who would not admit that the British boundary is the most natural and the most convenient—the least likely to lead to adverse pretensions on its borders—essentially necessary to England, not as to the mere territory, which is of small comparative value, but for the internal communications and the administration of her provinces; while to America it is little more than a naked question of so much swamp and forest, involving no great public convenience, nor any serious or national interest whatsoever beyond its mere extent.

We do most respectfully, but most earnestly implore the Anglo-American nation, by all those principles of amity and equity which should influence the intercourse of friendly powers, and particularly, if they will allow us to say so, by all those peculiar feelings which ought to connect the English and the Americans, whose interests, let us both be well assured, are more closely identified than those of any other two nations in the world; we implore, we say, the Anglo-American people to look at this question in a large and liberal spirit of conciliation and equity as well as of strict justice, and to take into their calm

consideration the emphatic opinion and advice given—before any national rivalry existed—by the agents of Massachusetts in 1794, that “*the tract of land which lies beyond the sources of all your rivers cannot be an object of any great consequence to you, though it is absolutely necessary to England to preserve the continuity of her colonial government.*”

The following is the closing paragraph of this review, and is doubtless worthy of the grave consideration of the two governments in the present involved and agitating state of the pending controversy:

But whatever may be the ulterior views and arrangements of the governments, there is one object of the most pressing emergency which ought to be *immediately* provided for; we mean the daily and hourly risk of *hostile collision* between the subjects and citizens of the two countries on the disputed territory. Let a convention be forthwith concluded, forbidding either party, *pendente lite*, to pass the St. John; and—*saving, in the fullest manner, all public and private rights*—let the temporary jurisdiction of the territories on the *right* bank of the St. John, down to the *north line*, be administered by the American authorities, and on the *left* by the British. This would make, *for the moment*, a pretty nearly equal division of the disputed ground, and would, *without in any way prejudicing existing rights or compromising eventual interests*, avert the risk of that enormous calamity, hostile collision, and keep the question safely open for a mature examination, and, it may be hoped, a satisfactory and final settlement. Either of the nations (if such a result can be imagined), which should reject so equitable, so conciliatory and so just a provisional arrangement, would stand responsible to the world for all the consequences of such unreasonable conduct, and would enlist against herself the feelings as well as the judgment of mankind.

ART. IX.—*Romish Priests in Ireland, and the Irish Registration Bill.* We have here fifty-five pages, the closing half of a review, which was commenced in the last preceding No. of this *Quarterly*. It professes to be a thorough examination into the real condition of Ireland, its politico-religious state, the evidences which exist of a Jesuitical influence in Ireland, and that popery lies at the root of the evils of that unhappy country. It is preceded by the titles of eleven works, letters, official reports, etc., which have been published from 1810 to 1841; and the facts, which it discloses, exhibit the conflicts between the English Church Establishment and the Romish Priesthood in a most unenviable light. The degradation and consequent moral obliquity of the people are also made to stand out in aspects fearfully portentous. The article, however, is so essentially made up of details, and alleged facts, that it would be impossible to give a satisfactory analysis of it in the space which we can devote to it in this notice; and we the more willingly forbear to add any further remarks on it now, because we shall doubtless have occasion hereafter to resume the subject of the state of Ireland, under the guidance of some writer whose views may be less affected by party relations and biases than those of the author of this labored and expanded review. SR. ED.

ARTICLE XII.

RECENT DISCOVERIES AND IMPROVEMENTS IN SCIENCE AND THE ARTS.

MECHANICAL AND USEFUL ARTS.

THE THAMES TUNNEL.

THE Tunnel has been completed to the breadth of the river (1,140 feet), the advance having been 60 feet during the past year. Up to June 23d, according to a statement made by Mr. Brunel to the Institution of Civil Engineers, the works had not much progressed since March, 1840, the date of the plan in the *Year-Book* last published. Mr. Brunel then stated the progress of the Tunnel in the previous year to have been, within one foot, equal to that made in the three preceding years. During these periods, collectively, the extent of the Tunnel excavated was 250 feet 6 inches; whilst, during the above year, the excavation had been 249 feet six inches, and this advance was made in spite of the difficulties caused by the frequent depressions of the bed of the river. These were so extensive, that in the course of 28 lineal feet of Tunnel, the quantity of ground thrown upon the bed of the river, to make up for the displacement, in the deepest part of the stream, was *ten times* that of the excavation, although the space of the excavation itself is completely replaced by the brick structure. On one occasion, the ground subsided, in a few minutes, to the extent of 13 feet in depth over an area of 30 feet in diameter, without causing any increased influx of water to the work of the Tunnel. The results now recorded confirm Mr. Brunel in his opinion of the efficiency of his original plan, which was "to press equally against the ground all over the area of the face, whatever may be the nature of the ground through which the excavation is being carried." The sides and top are naturally protected; but the face depends wholly for support upon the poling-boards and screws. The displacement of one board by the pressure of the ground might be attended with disastrous consequences; no deviation, therefore, from the safe plan should be permitted. Mr. Brunel added, that a full and complete record of all the occurrences during the progress of the Tunnel has been kept; so as to supply information to enable others to avert many of the difficulties encountered by Mr. Brunel, in this bold yet successful undertaking.

—*London Year-Book.*

THAMES STEAM NAVIGATION.

THE Thames, between London Bridge and Chelsea, is now provided with upwards of 25 steam-boat piers. The river has now become the most important public highway in this kingdom, and perhaps in Europe. The number of passengers always afloat is enormous; and it sometimes happens there are 10,000 persons going up and down the river at one

time in steam-vessels, including those proceeding to and from the Continent. Capital to the amount of five millions is employed in steam navigation, and 150 steam-vessels are constantly engaged on the river. *Observer.*

IRON STEAMERS.

The question of the durability of Iron Vessels, of their little liability to accident, and of the ease with which damage done to them may be repaired, appearing to be very clearly proved from experience, a great number of Iron Steamers have been commenced and completed during the past year, among the more important of which are the following:

The *Archimedes* has made an experimental trip round the Island, or 1,722 miles, in 210 hours; being, on an average, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour, in all weathers and states of the tide, than which nothing can be more satisfactory. She answers her helm well, and is under complete command. In putting her about, the water thrown from off the propeller impinges upon the rudder with such force as to cause her to turn in little more than her own length.

The *Sons of the Thames*, built by Messrs. Ditchburn and Mare, and fitted with a pair of 37-horse oscillating engines, by Messrs. Penn and Sons, of Greenwich, on Sept. 16, went from Blackwall to Gravesend, (20 miles) in one hour and eleven minutes!

The *Mammoth*, building by the Great Western Ship Company, at Bristol, will register about 3000 tons; but her actual tonnage will exceed 3600 tons, or about 600 tons more than any ship ever built. An immense saving in stowage will be gained in consequence of the adoption of iron for her hull, whilst her draught of water will be comparatively small. She will, consequently, be able to carry coals sufficient both for her outward and homeward passages—a most important point, when the inferior quality of coals obtainable in America, and the consequent diminution in speed are considered. Her engines are to be of 1000-horse power, and it is confidently expected that the average voyage across the Atlantic will be reduced to ten days. She will carry a vast spread of canvass, so that in all probability the engines will frequently be at rest. In consequence of the adoption of Smith's Screw Propeller, this stupendous ship will, we believe, be able to pass the present locks at Cumberland Basin, and discharge her cargo in Bristol Harbor.—*Gloucestershire Chronicle.*

The *Mermaid*, a wrought-iron steam vessel of 160 tons, has been built by Messrs. Ditchburn and Mare, to be propelled by an engine on an entirely new principle of 50-horse power, invented expressly to drive the Archimedes screw without the aid of gearing-wheels. Should its power equal its simplicity, it is likely to cause a great change in steam-engines.—*Civil Eng. and Arch. Journ.*, No. 39.

The *Peru*, one of the vessels belonging to the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, built by Messrs. Curling and Young, is a very splendid steamer of 700 tons burthen; her engines of 90-horse power each, are by Messrs. Miller and Ravenhill, and Oram's patent fuel is used in lieu of coal; she is fitted with Capt. Smith's paddle-box boats.

The *Eclipse*, built by Messrs. Napier, of Mill Wall, is said to be decidedly the fastest steamer in England. From her surprising speed and singular appearance, (having two funnels and the piston cross-head working above the deck,) a report got abroad that she was driven by high-pressure steam, which was incorrect. She is propelled by one engine, of 100-horse power, the cylinder $51\frac{1}{2}$ inches diameter, with 4-foot stroke; she has a double bottom, which gives increased strength and safety, and at the same time, affords a large space wherein the steam is conveniently condensed, thus keeping up a regular supply of fresh water to the boilers, and saving nearly the entire power of working an air-pump. She has four separate boilers, any three of which are adequate to supply the engine; so that one may be repaired, without causing delay.—(*Abridged from the Mechanics' Magazine*, No. 883.) The *Eclipse*, during last summer, ran from Deptford to Margate in about $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours; certainly the greatest speed ever accomplished on British waters.—*Edinburgh Mechanics' Magazine*.

The *Stromboli* steam-ship, constructed in 1839, for service in the Indian seas, is armed with six guns of large calibre, carrying balls of 105lb. weight a distance of three miles, with tremendous effect. These pieces of ordnance weigh about 65 cwt. each; they are constructed on a new principle, which renders them safe, and easily managed on board steam-vessels, where the concussion from those formerly used was apt to derange the machinery.

The *Proserpine* war-steamer, built by Messrs. Ditchburn and Mare, of 470 tons, has four sliding keels, nine water-tight bulkheads, two of which are longitudinal, running the entire length of the engine-room, and is armed with four long guns on non-recoil carriages, her draft not exceeding four feet of water. The engines, by Messrs. Maudsley, are two 45-horse, having the wheels to disconnect, on a new method, to facilitate sailing.

The *Courier*, intended to navigate the *Elbe*, between Hamburg and Magdeburg, has been built by Messrs. Ditchburn and Mare, and fitted up with engines on the oscillating principle, by Messrs. Penn, who have acquired great eminence for the construction of this class of engines. The vessel is 158 feet long at the water line, her breadth of beam 20 feet; and her draft of water with engines, boilers filled, etc. and 15 tons of fuel on board, is only 19 inches in midships, and 14 inches at stem and stern. The engines are of 32-horse power each; the diameter of the cylinders 34 inches; and the length of stroke 3 feet. The weight of the engines and boiler filled with water is only 37 tons 15 cwt.; and they are well accommodated in an engine-room of half the usual size. The great saving thus effected in weight and space is one of the results of the adoption of the oscillating principle, and may be ranked among its principal advantages. The weight usually assigned, we believe, to river engines, is 18 cwt. per horse power, but we are informed that the oscillating engines of the *Courier* weigh under 12 cwt.—*Mechanics' Magazine*, No. 874; *abridged*.

The *Soudan* is one of the three iron steam-vessels built for the Niger Expedition. It is smaller than the other two, the *Albert* and *Wilberforce*, being of only 250 tons, while the tonnage of both the others is

440. The *Soudan* (the name is a corruption of Habid-es-Sudan, or Friend of the Blacks,) is destined for detached service, when required, up smaller rivers; for conveying intelligence or invalids, and especially for sounding ahead of the other vessels in difficult or unknown navigation. A free circulation of fresh air between decks has been insured by the erection of a ventilating apparatus, fitted under the able superintendence of Dr. Reid. It consists of a case of sheet iron, about two feet and a half in breadth, and eight inches in thickness, extending all round the sides of the vessel, and provided with mouths, which may be opened and closed at pleasure. The air is driven into this case by means of a large circular fan, which is set in motion by a band communicating to the axle of the paddles; or, when the engine is not in play, to a wheel which may be turned by manual labor. Connected with this is a chamber containing woollen cloths, lime, etc., through which it is intended, whenever the presence of malaria is suspected, the air shall pass previously to being circulated below the ventilating apparatus. Another peculiarity in the construction of this vessel is, that, instead of the usual covering provided for the paddle-wheels, two shallows are so fitted as, when inverted, to supply the place of paddle-boxes.—*Times*; abridged.

The *Nemesis*.—This splendid vessel, commanded by Capt. W. H. Hall, is the first iron steamer that ever rounded the Cape of Good Hope. She is the largest of her class built, being 168 feet long, 29 feet beam, and 650 tons burden. The engines are of 120-horse power, by Messrs. Foster & Co., of Liverpool; 20 days' coal can, on any emergency, be stowed in her; she carries two medium 32-pound pivot guns, one after, the other forward, and ten swivels; and is manned by 50 seamen. When launched, she drew only $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet of water, and may still be lightened, if necessary, to $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet. Being nearly flat-bottomed, and fitted with iron hawse holes, for cables in the stern, she can be run on shore and easily got off again by anchors, which contrivances will enable her to land troops, without the assistance of boats. Though thus round bottomed, two wooden false keels, of 6 feet in depth, can be let down through her bottom, one after the other, forward. These, together with a lee-board, invented by Capt. Hall on the voyage, prevent her, in a considerable degree, from going to leeward. The rudder has a corresponding construction, the true rudder going to the depth of the stern-post, and a false rudder being attached by a pivot to the former, so that it can be triced up or let down to the same depth as the false keels. The floats are easily unshipped; and under canvass, with the wind free, she can go nine or ten knots an hour. The vessel is partitioned by water-tight divisions into five compartments, so that, if even both stem and stern were stove in, she would float. Her accommodations and arrangements of small arms are splendid; and large coal-holes, being placed between the officers' quarters and the sailors' berths and the engine-room, the heat of the fires is not at all felt. The *Nemesis* left Portsmouth, with secret orders, on March 28, and reached Madeira in seven days, where she took in coals, and then proceeded down the coast of Africa, steaming or sailing, according to circumstances. At Prince's Island, she took in 70 tons of wood, which, with the remaining coals, lasted till she came into the latitude of St. Helena, when she proceeded under canvass, to make the best of her way to Table Bay, thus facing the Southern Ocean, at the very

worst season of the year. She arrived at Table Bay on July 1, and having there taken in 200 tons of coals and water, she left on the 11th, and whilst rounding the Cape, experienced several gales of wind; but she proved an admirable sea-boat, buoyantly rising over the immense waves, and shipping little or no water. She, however, was so much damaged in these gales, that Capt. Hall put into English River, Delgoa Bay, to repair and refit, which occupied three weeks. Thence the *Nemesis* proceeded to Mozambique, where the Portuguese government assured Capt. Hall that the sight of his steamer would greatly dishearten the persons engaged in the slave-trade, for they would now see that their vessels were no longer safe in the river, as steamers so powerfully armed could follow them over the bars, when the men-of-war could not approach.

From Mozambique, the *Nemesis* continued her voyage towards India, calling at Johanna, where she came direct through the Maldivé Islands to Ceylon, sighted Colombo on Oct. 7, and reached Point de Galle in the afternoon. Thence it was expected the *Nemesis* would proceed to Singapore, and ultimately to China.—*Abridged from the Colombo Observer and Times.*

The *Propeller* has been built by Messrs. Ditchburn and Mare. The engine of 24-horse power, by which her paddles, or propellers, as they are termed, are worked, was made by Mr. J. T. Beale. She is a small vessel, but very elegant in her proportions, and formed to cut through the water with great rapidity. The propellers differ from the paddle-wheels, used by other steamers, in being single blades of iron, only one blade on each side of the vessel, and not a series of blades brought into the water by the revolution of wheels. Each blade is very broad and large, and dips almost perpendicularly into the water, so that the concussion formed by the blades of paddle-wheels dipping into the water at angles is avoided, and the consequent unpleasant vibration of the vessel. Directly the blade dips into the water, it is forced back by an arm or limb of iron, performing a motion similar to the leg and foot of an aquatic bird; and by means of this motion the vessel is propelled forward, at the rate of from 10 to 11 knots or miles an hour. The appearance of the propellers is like that of the legs of a grasshopper, and when in motion, their action resembles the legs of that insect in its walk, as well as of a bird. One great advantage is that the propellers occasion no swell in the water, no wake or trough in the river, and no back-water, so that no danger is occasioned to small boats by the rapidity of their progress.—*Times.*

STEAM-PLOUGH.

A TRIAL has been made near Glasgow, with the Steam-Plough, invented by Mr. Macrae, and Messrs. Edgington and Sons, for the cultivation of sugar-lands, in British Guiana. The field was laid out similar to those in the colony, which have canals on each side, running parallel with one another. The machinery consists of two iron boats, one containing a small high-pressure steam-engine, with a drum, round which the endless chain or rope is coiled; and the other a reversing pulley, by

means of which the chain or rope is extended, and allowed to work whichever way may be required: the ploughs are attached to this chain, and made to work backwards and forwards with great rapidity and accuracy.—*Glasgow Courier*; *abridged*.

GEARY'S PATENT WOOD PAVING.

THIS Patent embraces about twenty differently-formed blocks for paving streets, tram-roads and railways. The form designated "the bevel shoulder-block" is stated to be superior to all others, and to possess all the advantages of the Whitehall and Oxford-street paving, (considered to be the most successful specimens in the metropolis,) without the objections of pinning. These blocks are on a self-supporting principle, each acting on a shoulder, and cross-jointed; thereby preventing the rising or sinking of any block, but allowing each to be easily taken out for repairing or laying gas or water-pipes. Another great advantage of Mr. Geary's plan is the introduction of a pyramid-bearing block in every ten or twelve feet, so as to divide the pressure, and form the pavement into a succession of arches across the street, instead of one continued bearing-line from curb to curb.—*Abridged from the Mechanics' Magazine*.

DRY ROT.—DECAY OF WOOD AND STONE.

THE following valuable facts were communicated by the late Sir Anthony Carlisle to M. J. Staunton, Esq., in reply to an application on the subject of Dry Rot in Timber:

Many different sorts of decay invade all kinds of timber, and the term "*dry rot*" is often improperly applied, especially to the decays, which entirely depend on *humidity*.

There are two different kinds of destruction of timber, each of them essentially connected with humidity. One of them is produced by a parasitical fungus, which absorbs the fibres of wood when subjected to moisture, and thus disorganizes the natural fabric of wood.

The other mode of destruction is by decomposition, which may be correctly termed "*rot*," and this occurs from alternate *wet* and *dry*.

The solidity of timber is not so durable when the tree has been filled with its growing portion of *sap*; and an unwise Act of Parliament, made to facilitate the barking of oaks, in order to increase the profits upon bark for tanning, directed the felling of those trees after the sap had risen in the spring season, so as to loosen the bark.

I foretold the injurious consequences of this Act upon the English navy, as a certain cause of fungus rot; but landlords and their ignorant stewards disregarded me, and the Admiralty were soon obliged to *doctor* all the new-built ships for that incurable decay.

That the absence of moisture secures every sort of timber from decay is shown by the ancient Mummy Cases of Thebes, by the bare roof of Westminster Hall, and the roofs of all our cathedrals and old churches; whereas the modern custom of plastering or painting all wood-work confines the moisture and excludes the air, to the certain destruction of

timber, as much as if the beams were fixed endwise in water. The Museum Roof of the London College of Surgeons thus became rotten within thirty years, and the underground wood-work in every damp house is ruined in a similar manner.

The elementary matter of wood is termed carbon, a word comprising solids and solutions, possessing apparently different properties; and on an exact and special knowledge of all these depend the practical uses of those differently modified substances.

The well-known charred wood, charcoal, the gas termed carbonic, the soluble gum Acacia, the fluid element of sap of all vegetables, and even a cambric handkerchief are only different states of the same material. But the insolubility of *charcoal*, and the easy solubility of gum Arabic are opposites, and show the diversities of the carbonic element. Crystallized white marble is a salt of lime, formed by carbon, but not in a state of gas; and in that state it was for a long time called *fixed air*. There are many intermediate states of carbonic fixity; and the rotting of timber exhibits them wherever the fluid sap, as before mentioned, is exposed to decomposition. A remarkable example of this occurs in fishermen's nets, in the herring and mackerel seasons. If the nets so used be suffered to remain even for eighteen hours imbued with the mucus and fat of the fish, they heat, ferment and rot, so as to be utterly worthless; and a similar injury happens to grass-bleaching linen when long confined under snow; likewise in the washing of linen, if it be long exposed to putrescent materials, this fermentation is the putrefactive, and it destructively decomposes the solid carbon of the net or cloth.

Stones, which *retain* or *imbibe* water to excess, are, therefore, unfit to be placed in contact with timber in buildings where the construction is designed to be durable.

Kyan's patent for steeping timber in a solution of mercurial sublimate is only a partial and temporary preventive of *rot*.—*Year-Book*.

GLASS-WEAVING.

FEW are aware that glass is now woven with silk, although its brittle nature would appear to render such a method of manufacturing it impossible. The fact, however, is indisputable, the new material being substituted for gold and silver thread, than either of which it is more durable, possessing besides the advantage of never tarnishing. What is technically called the warp, that is, the long-way of any loom-manufactured article, is composed of silk which forms the body and groundwork, on which the pattern in glass appears as the weft or cross-work. The requisite flexibility of glass thread for manufacturing purposes is to be ascribed to its extreme fineness, as not less than 50 or 60 of the original threads (produced by steam-engine power) are required to form one thread for the loom. The process is slow, as not more than a yard can be manufactured in 12 hours. The work, however, is extremely beautiful and comparatively cheap, inasmuch as no similar stuff, where bullion is really introduced, can be purchased for any thing like the price at which this is sold: added to this, it is, as far as the glass is concerned, imperishable. Some admirable specimens of the manufactured article

may be seen in the Polytechnic Institution, Regent Street, especially two patterns of silver on a blue and red ground, and another of gold on crimson. The Jacquard-loom by which it is woven may also be seen at the same establishment.—*Times*.

WOVEN PORTRAIT.

At a *conversazione* lately given by Mr. Morrison to the Institute of British Architects, was exhibited a Portrait of Jacquard in his workshop, planning the construction of the beautiful machinery which now bears his name. This work, worthily entitled, "Hommage à J. M. Jacquard," is woven with such truth and delicacy as to resemble a fine line engraving: it is the work of Didier, Petit and Co. "We learned that there were 1,000 threads in each square inch (French) in both the warp and the woof; and that 24,000 bands of card were used in the manufacture, each band large enough to receive 1,050 holes. Owing to the black threads passing under them, the tone of the highest light was gray, though this was scarcely perceptible. The great difficulty was, it is said, keeping the broad margin round the picture perfectly even in color, and regular at the lines forming the edge of the picture."—*Mechanics' Magazine*, No. 887.

ARTICLE XIII.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES.

GREAT BRITAIN.

- 1.—*The Whole Works of Richard Graves, D. D., late Dean of Ardagh, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin. In four vols. Dublin, 1840.*

If a strong mind, large attainments, sincere piety and a most kind and Christian deportment be qualities that entitle their possessor to fame, then may the late Dean be well denominated famous; but a stronger claim to celebrity, than even these can give, may be made in favor of Richard Graves. He has written on many subjects, and on all well. His work on the Pentateuch is used in the English Universities as well as Dublin, and we may safely add that it has never been perused without great benefit. Nor are his other works indicative of less ability, though their subjects have not brought them so prominently before the religious world. This edition is not only complete and handsome, but it is enriched by the present Dr. Graves, with a valuable memoir of his father.—*Church of England Review*.

- 2.—*Notes of an Overland Journey through France and Egypt to Bombay. By the late Miss Emma Roberts. With a Memoir. London, 1840.*

The writer of this pleasant volume is favorably known to the reading public as the authoress of that clever and amusing book, "Scenes and

Characteristics of Hindoostan," and as a contributor to several periodicals. She revisited India at the close of 1839, and died at Poona—partly from intense application to literary pursuits, and partly from the effects of the climate—in the September following. This posthumous publication contains the result of her last journey, describing, with picturesque talent so peculiarly her own, the many remarkable occurrences of her route. She has evidently allowed nothing worthy of note to escape her; and her account of the presidency of Bombay—nearly a third of the volume—is as valuable for the information it contains as it is entertaining.—*Colburn's New Monthly*.

- 3.—*The Courts of Europe at the close of the last Century. By the late Henry Swinburne, Author of Travels in Spain and Italy, etc. Edited by Charles White, Esq. In two vols. London, 1840.*

These letters are now published for the first time, and two more delightful volumes it is scarcely possible to meet with. They form the most perfect picture of the continent, towards the conclusion of the last century, which we possess, and are enriched with some admirable criticisms, without the slightest appearance of that assumption of connoisseurship which makes the majority of modern tourists so intolerable. Such a gallery of illustrious characters, no single work of the same extent ever before published. It comprises the royal families in the principal courts of Europe, with almost every person of rank or celebrity in the church, diplomacy, literature, arts and sciences.—*Colburn's New Monthly*.

- 4.—*Elements of Electro-Metallurgy, or the Art of working in Metals by the Galvanic Fluid. By Alfred Smee, Surgeon to the Bank of England. London, 1840.*

This work develops the history of the art of the Electrotpe, which has lately attracted so much attention. Prof. Daniell, in perfecting his battery, discovered a deposit of copper on the negative plate, and every scratch accurately copied on the reduced metal. M. de la Rue made the same observation; but it was not till Oct. 1838, that Prof. Jacobi announced that he could employ the reduction of copper by the galvanic fluid for the purposes of the arts. In 1839, Mr. Spencer announced that he had executed some medals in copper. A new line of art is thus opened, and we may anticipate an increased diffusion of taste in the fine arts from this easy mode of multiplying casts and plates.—*Gentleman's Magazine*.

- 5.—*A Dictionary of Science, Literature and Art; comprising the History, Description and Scientific Principles of every Branch of Human Knowledge; with the Derivation and Definition of all the terms in general use. Illustrated by Engravings. Edited by W. T. Brande, F. R. S. Part I. London.*

The design of this work is most admirable, and its execution promises to be such as will entitle it to the confidence and patronage of the public. It is intended to occupy a medium position between the general encyclopedia and the special dictionary, and will be found to answer all

the purposes of a manual or reference-book. It "will contain the definition, derivation and explanation of the various terms in science, art and literature, that occur in reading and conversation. Great pains have been taken to make these definitions and explanations correct, clear and precise. Short abstracts are also given of the principles of the most popular and important departments of science, literature and art, with notices of their rise, progress and present state. No statement is ever made as to any unusual or doubtful matter without referring to the authority; and when subjects of interest and importance are noticed, the reader is referred to the works relating to them which embody the most scientific information."—*Eclectic Review*.

- 6.—*Memoir of the Rev. C. T. E. Rhenius, comprising Extracts from his Journal and Correspondence, with details of Missionary Proceedings in South India. By his Son.* London.

Mr. Rhenius was a Lutheran, and very early in life felt that divine impulse which a gracious Providence bestows upon its chosen instruments, to go among the heathen. To this intent he was educated and came to England, and, under the auspices of the Church Missionary Society, when some political opposition was removed, proceeded to Madras, and there, and in the vicinity of that place, commenced those labors so precious to man and so acceptable to God. Pious, indefatigable and learned, he soon proved himself an able and skilful reaper, with nothing around him but thorns and weeds. His exertions were looked upon by the authorities with sullen apathy or open displeasure. The Hindoo character was averse to innovation, and content with a belief that had satisfied their ancestors. This work is very valuable as giving much insight into the private manners of the Hindoos; it will familiarize the reader with that singular people more than any other publication with which we are acquainted. The subject of this biography must have been, in private life, a most estimable man; and his public career, notwithstanding his indiscretions, most salutary. Altogether, he was a noble character; and his few errors of conduct were more than redeemed by the purity of his heart and the holiness of his life.—*Metropolitan Magazine*.

- 7.—*The Life and Pontificate of Gregory VII. By John W. Bowden, M. A. In two vols.* London, 1840.

Those who wish to see an able account of a man, whom all acknowledge to have been pre-eminently great, will do well to consult Mr. Bowden's Life of Hildebrand. That in many points he is, however, too anxious to defend the haughty and ambitious Pontiff, we feel assured; and while we do not join those who call the Pope Hell-brand instead of Hildebrand, we think him hardly a fit subject for the praise of an *Anglican* Catholic. Mr. Bowden is, in effect, writing up the Church of Rome. We do not like to see an English clergyman the apologist of Gregory VII.—*Church of England Review*.

8.—*Engines of War, or Historical and Experimental Observations on Ancient and Modern Warlike Machines and Implements, &c.* By Henry Wilkinson, M. R. A. S. London.

This volume first gives us a history of warlike implements, from the earliest or rudest to the most finished and fell. Next, there is a description of the methods of manufacturing the most efficient engines used in war,—a part of the work which the author (a member of the firm so celebrated for its manufacture of fire-arms) has treated with professional interest and practical knowledge. And lastly, there is a variety of inquiries and curious speculations, together with illustrations, relative to the strength of particular substances out of which weapons are made, and the value, beauty, &c. of certain famed instruments of destruction.

It appears that, as in many other branches, the eye to cheapness which has become so vigilant, yet often so rash, is, in these modern days of rapid and gigantic manufacturing production, tending to deteriorate some of the implements for destruction, even to the production of unsafe muskets. The best material that has ever been used in the manufacture of these weapons consisted of stub-iron, that is, old horse-shoe nails; not only because these nails are originally made from the best iron, but because, when a barrel is prepared from a fused mass of such small pieces, the fibres become interwoven in every possible direction and way, so as greatly to increase the tenacity of the union. But Mr. Wilkinson informs us that very few *plain stub* barrels are now made; that twisted iron of an inferior quality finds a more ready sale in the Birmingham market, "where every species of deception is practised on a large scale," and where "they often wind a thin ribbon of Damascus, or superior iron, round iron of the worst quality; even gas-tubing is considered good enough, when coated in this manner, to form gun-barrels of a very low price with a high-priced appearance." Much that is interesting, as well as useful, is contained in Mr. Wilkinson's volume.—*Monthly Review*.

9.—*Egypt and Mohammed Ali: Illustrative of the Condition of his Slaves and Subjects, &c. &c.* By R. R. Madden, M. D. London, 1841.

This is a republication, in an improved and enlarged shape, of some able letters which recently appeared in the *Morning Chronicle*. They treat of the history and character of the Chief of Egypt, his government and policy, the country and people, the views of the French with respect to Egypt, the slave-trade and slave-hunts in Nubia (of which a horrible picture is drawn) and the persecution of the Jews at Damascus,—Dr. Madden being a warm advocate of the Hebrew people, and having accompanied Sir Moses Montefiore on his mission to inquire into the charges against the Damascus Jews.

Dr. Madden's estimate of the character of Mohammed Ali is a very fair one; he does justice to his good qualities without sparing his vices. He thinks his intellectual powers have been greatly overrated. None, however, can deny that he is an extraordinary man, who, in better circumstances might have been a great one. The Turkish empire Dr. Madden considers as "a political bankrupt in the hands of official assignees," and he thinks it is the duty of those assignees to preserve the wreck of the property that is still left, "from the cupidity of grasping

claimants, or the fraudulent designs of those who are beneficially interested, not in the protection, but in the spoliation of the assets." *Asiatic Journal*.

- 9.—*The Mabinogion, from the Llyfr Coch o Hergest, and other ancient Welsh Manuscripts; with an English Translation and Notes.*—By Lady Charlotte Guest. Part III, containing "Geraint the Son of Erbin." London, 1840.

The Third Part is certainly the most splendid and variously decorated that has yet appeared of this magnificent work; and the notes are exceedingly rich and meritorious, to the infinite credit of Lady Charlotte Guest, whose liberality and patriotism in this grand undertaking can only be measured by the talent and spirit with which it is conducted.—The Arthurian romance itself of Geraint the Son of Erbin must have been read and translated by her Ladyship from "half-faded manuscripts," with a genuine relish; and how worthy has been her ally in the work, the printer and embellisher of the book!—*Monthly Review*.

GERMANY.

- 1.—*History of Philosophy: By Jak. Fred. Fries. Dr. Prof., etc. Vol. II.* Halle, 1840.

The object of the author is neither biography nor bibliography; nor is it to characterize different philosophers and their systems; but rather to describe the progressions and retrogressions of philosophical science. The volume before us exhibits the history of philosophy, from the introduction of Christianity to the present time. The author has selected two grand epochs—1, the prevalence of the doctrines taught by Paul; 2, the discovery of the inductive method by Galileo and Bacon—and proceeding from these, he has divided his history into two periods. The first of these periods is again divided into two parts. Part I. is entitled: New Platonism, Judaism and Christianity, and has four chapters;—1, the New Platonism of the Jews; 2, the New Platonism of the Gentiles; 3, Gnosticism; 4, the Philosophy of Christianity. Some of the topics discussed under these general heads are the Kabbala, Philo, Ammonius, Porphyry, Jamblicus, Proclus, Chinese Philosophy, Sanserit Philosophy, and the systems of the Fathers. Part II. is entitled: the Mystics and Scholastics; or the Philosophy of the Monastic Schools of the Catholic Church, and has four chapters;—1, Mysticism, or Christian New Platonism; 2, first Period of Scholastic Philosophy, Nominalism and Realism; 3, the Victory and Prevalence of Scholastic Realism; 4, the Gradual Deliverance of Philosophy from the Dogmas of the Church.

The second period—from Galileo and Bacon to Kant—is divided into four parts. The subject of the first is Galileo, Bacon, Descartes and his school. Part II. has two chapters;—1, the History of Speculative Metaphysics, passing in review Malebranche, Spinoza, Newton, Leibnitz, Wolf; 2, the Theories of Locke and Hume. The subject of Part III. is Practical Philosophy, Ethics, etc. to the time of Kant. Part IV. has two

chapters,—1, the Philosophy of Kant; 2, the School of Kant. The author thinks, that with the discoveries of Kant, the history of philosophy should have come to a close. The recent revolutions of German Metaphysics, he ascribes to a love of novelty.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

2.—*Institutiones Linguae Persicæ cum Sanscritâ et Zendicâ comparatæ*. By Joh. Aug. Vuller. Giessen, 1840.

The Persian language,—notwithstanding its ease and gracefulness, its copious and elegant literature, especially its affinity to the Greek, Latin and German,—has had the singular destiny to receive far less attention than the Semitic tongues. This has been owing to the interest which the latter have excited by their relation to biblical and theological investigation, and perhaps, also, to the inherent fondness of the Germans for whatever is difficult or distant. But the unmerited neglect which this beautiful language has hitherto suffered is passing away. This book of Prof. Vuller is not without its defects; still it has done much towards a proper *working up* of the materials which have been provided by Persians, Turks and Englishmen. It contains many things which are not found in other works on this subject.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

3.—*The Christology of the Koran: By C. F. Geroch, Prof., etc.* Gotha, 1839.

The author remarks in his preface that “the time seems to have come, when it is possible to write a scientific system of Mohammedan theology.” Those, who are competent to appreciate his labors, will acknowledge that his collection of passages from the Koran, relating to Christ, is full, well arranged, correctly translated and accompanied with observations which are made in the genuine historical spirit. The arrangement of the work is as follows:—1, the Introduction, in which are discussed the use to be made of Mohammedan commentators and other writers for the illustration of the Koran, the origin and compilation of the Koran, and the sources from which Mohammed obtained his knowledge of the history and doctrines of Christianity; 2, the Historical Part, which treats of John, the family of Jesus, the birth and childhood of Mary, the birth, life, apparent death, ascension, return and judicial work of Christ; 3, the Dogmatic Part, in which are considered the person of Jesus, the Christian doctrine respecting the Sonship and Trinity, the source, aim and nature of the doctrine of Jesus, its relation to that of the prophets, and, lastly, the relation of Jesus to Mohammed.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

4.—*Reminiscences of the External Life of Ernst Moritz Arndt*. Leipsic, 1840.

The title of this autobiography of a distinguished man is not well chosen. The reminiscences of the *internal* life are much more copious and interesting than those of the external. Although the author still retains the vigor and freshness of his faculties, it seems to be true of him, as of the aged, that his recollections of childhood and youth are remarkably distinct, while more recent events are faintly or coldly

impressed on his memory. His account of his youth is full and refreshing to all. How life-like the forms which he sets before us! Since Göthe's "Wahrheit und Dichtung," there has been nothing so true to nature and so poetical. Life in the Gymnasium is painted with equal success. But how tame is all that follows? What if a man like Arndt does pass through the ordinary life of other men? What if he does see only what they see? The ordinary, in the hands of such a man, becomes extraordinary. He has the power to make every-day life a breathing, moving reality. He flies to Sweden from the grasping dominion of Buonaparte, and resides there several years. His love of country restores him to Germany. Subsequently he travels in Russia. But in all this, and, indeed, throughout the rest of his life, we miss the master-hand which painted the youth of Arndt.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

- 5.—*Life in Modern Greece, compared with Life in Ancient Greece.* By E. Bybilakis. Berlin, 1840.

It is certainly praiseworthy in our Hellenists and Archeologists to illustrate the minutest details of Grecian Antiquities; but they should always do this in connection with the present state of Greece, which retains more of the ancient elements than they commonly suppose. This little work may serve as a pattern to future efforts in this department of inquiry. The author, himself a Greek, in his travels through almost every part of his native country, has made himself acquainted with the manners and customs of the people. Having done this, he compares the results of his researches with the manners and customs of earlier times, and earnestly contends that "ancient Hellas is not yet dead." The topics which he particularly illustrates are birth, childhood, youth, marriage, festivals, death, together with the religious usages, fairs, etc.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

- 6.—*Statistics of Austria.* By Joh. Springer, Dr. and Prof., etc. Vol. II. Vienna, 1840.

This meritorious work does equal honor to the author and to the country which he describes, and to which he belongs. Few nations can boast so thorough and complete an exposition of their statistical condition. The plan of the treatise is to consider, 1, the elements of Austrian power—the territory and the population; 2, the constitution and administration; 3, the result—moral and physical culture. He begins with a historical survey of the gradual increase of the monarchy. Under the first division, he speaks of the position, form, extent, mountains, water, etc. of the country; also the number, increase, immigration and emigration of the inhabitants. In connection with the last topic, he remarks that there is very little emigration, as the people have but little inducement to leave their native land. Physical culture he examines under the divisions of agriculture, manufactures and trade. The work is both lucid in its general plan and complete in its details.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium*.

- 7.—*Historic Popular Songs of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* By Ph. Max. Körner: with a Preface by J. A. Schmeller. Stuttgart, 1840.

The merit of this edition of our old Popular Songs, like that of the "Hundred Popular Songs," published at Leipsic, 1836, consists in its faithful adherence to the ancient text, without change in orthography, abbreviations, etc. For this reason, it is no ground of objection, that the present collection contains many songs which are already before the public, but which are to be found nowhere else so true to their original dress. The editor was perfectly justifiable, also, in restricting his selections to the best of these songs; and we generally approve the choice which he has made. His arrangement is not always happy. This collection has a decided advantage over that of Soltau, in its giving the necessary historical explanations, with the greatest brevity, after every song.—*Gersdorf's Repertorium.*

FRANCE.

- 1.—*General View of Egypt.* By A. B. Clot-Bey, Inspector General, etc., of Egypt. In two vols. Paris, 1840.

The author of this work has long occupied a distinguished post under Mohammed Ali. What he describes he has seen, not as a tourist who skims over the surface, but as an observer who has both leisure and means to study whatever is worthy of attention. His profession has given him rare facilities for becoming acquainted with the internal economy of the country. A physician is the only Frank to whom the inhabitants will expose their domestic concerns. The tone and style of the author exhibit a calm, judicious spirit, equally removed from enthusiasm for what is new, or contempt for what is strange. The work is enriched with many details respecting the natural history of Egypt, its agriculture, commerce, schools, government, every thing, in short, which illustrates its political and domestic condition. The only exceptions which we take to the book are its too frequent commendations of Mohammed Ali, and its too indulgent observations on the manners and religion of the Orientals.—*Le Semeur.*

- 2.—*History of Public Spirit in France since 1789.* By Alexis Dumesnil. Paris, 1840.

This is a satire in which indignation predominates. It attacks evil wherever it is to be found; and if there is something of bitterness and injustice in its censures, they are the faults, not of a partisan, but of a friend of virtue. To rouse France to a clear perception of the mischiefs which are consuming her, he endeavors to expose the long series of her errors, pointing out their relations to each other, and, so to speak, their genealogy. Every successive faction of the Revolution, while it desolated the country, represented a new idea, and fought under the standard of a philosophical sect. Voltaire fell with the Girondins;

Rousseau triumphed with the Committee of Safety. The author treats the Empire, the Restoration and the Revolution with equal severity. He discerns in each the traces of materialism and moral debasement. Passing from politics to literature, he prefers a formal indictment against the *Romantic School*. This is, perhaps, the most remarkable portion of the book. It represents this "sect" as seizing, first the novel, next the drama, then poetry, and, finally, almost every branch of literature; thus creating that appetite for savage emotions and that craving for blood, which characterize the age. By analyzing some of our most popular writings, he is enabled to sustain his charge with abundant proof. He extracts from our novelists and poets poison enough to destroy an empire. We do not subscribe to all his opinions; but we rejoice in this reaction against evil. It is time to raise high the standard of faith, of public and private virtue: if we rally around this, political divisions will change their character; men will respect, even in opposing, each other.—*Le Semeur*.

4.—*Essay on the Books of Antiquity, particularly among the Romans.*
By H. Géraud. Paris, 1840.

This essay is not intended, as some may suppose, to gratify an idle curiosity; it resembles rather those valuable dissertations of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, in which the sagacity of the scholar is happily applied to the solution of a question of real importance. It is truly surprising that M. Géraud should be the first to discuss this subject as it deserves. In Germany and Italy some attention has been paid to it; but henceforth, thanks to our author, we can dispense with the labors of other countries. The first topic which he examines is the *matériel* of writing. Historical details illustrate his remarks upon the different substances which have been used. In relation to papyrus he has furnished much information that is accessible to very few. This portion of the essay terminates with the history of cotton-paper, which was invented at Mecca near the middle of the eighth century. The author next considers the instruments which were employed to trace the letters,—the stylus, reed, pencil, ink, etc. The remarks on the origin of writing constitute the most valuable portion of the essay. At the close we have a number of amusing details respecting publication, copying, editions, public recitation, etc. Literary charlatanism, according to M. Géraud, can trace its pedigree to a remote antiquity.—*Le Semeur*.

3.—*Suicide, Mental Alienation and Crimes against Persons.* By J. B. Cazauvieilh, M. D. Paris, 1840.

This work, though defective in arrangement, is full of curious information. It is written by one who has long been the physician of the Hospital of Liancourt-Oise; the facts which he publishes are furnished by his own observation. While other writers on these topics have confined their investigations to large cities, he has explored the remoter districts. But the conclusion to which he comes is by no means favorable to the latter. "Suicides," he says, "are as frequent in the country, where the wants of civilization have extended, as in cities; in the

environs of Paris, as in Paris." The author, it will be seen, has grouped together *suicide, mental alienation and crimes against persons*. The connection of the first and second of these topics is obvious; the relation of the last to the first is not so manifest. But there are many analogies between suicide and homicide. The same passions and vices conduct to both. In respect to number, they present a striking agreement. The average number of suicides in 1827-9 was 1733, of murders, 1848; in 1830-2, the suicides were 1998, the murders, 1870; in 1833-5, the suicides were 2118, the murders, 2232." This gives a yearly average of 650 suicides and 661 murders. In respect to the sexes, M. Cazauvieilh comes to the following result: 1. There are more criminals among men than women; 2. More cases of mental derangement among women than men; 3. Men generally are deranged, commit crimes and destroy their lives at an earlier age than women; 4. Women are less likely to return to virtue than men. M. C. distinctly recognizes the insufficiency of the instruction, usually given in our schools, to arrest the progress of suicide and crime. He believes religion to be the best check upon the growing immorality of the country, and laments the progress of infidelity among us. *Le Semeur*.

5.—*History of Malta. By M. Miège, French Consul at Malta: in three vols. Paris, 1841.*

During the author's long residence at Malta, he has made those extensive and patient investigations, the result of which is now given to the world. The first volume is taken up with the statistics of the island and its dependencies; it adopts the principles of M. Le Comte d'Hauterive in his *Notions Élémentaire de Economie Politique*, and is executed with no less intelligence than care. The whole area of the three islands—Malta, Gozo and Cumino—is 49,150 hectares, of which only 25,712 are cultivated. The entire population is 120,000; of these, one-fifth are unproductive, and one-tenth, paupers. All are Catholics except 360 Jews, 72 Turks and the *employés* of the English government. From its peculiar position, Malta has been coveted—we might almost say possessed—by every nation which has engaged in the commerce of the Mediterranean. It has been in the occupancy of the Phenicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Goths, Greek Emperors, Arabs, Normans, Germans, Spaniards, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, French and English. The inhabitants trace back their conversion to Christianity to the shipwreck of Paul. They show the ruins of a building, in which, they say, Publius received the apostle. This Publius became, moreover, the first Bishop of Malta. Several chapters, full of interest, are devoted to the connection of the Knights of St. John with this island. It was ceded to them by Charles V., and it continued in their possession till 1798, when it was taken by Buonaparte.—*Le Semeur*.

ARTICLE XIV.

SELECT LIST OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

GREAT BRITAIN.

THE Domestic Management of the Sick Room. By Anthony Todd Thomson, M. D., F. R. S., etc. London.

The South-Sea Islanders ; a Christian Tale, in the Dramatic Form : and Moraig ; or the Seeker of God ; a Poem. By John Dunlop, Esq. London.

The Cause and Treatment of the Curvature of the Spine, and Diseases of the Vertebral Column. By E. W. Tuson, F. R. S., etc. London.

A Practical Treatise on the Law of Mines and Minerals. By William Bainbridge, Esq. London.

A System of Physiology ; for Students and Practitioners in Medicine. From the German of Rudolph Wagner, M. D., by Robert Willis, M. D. : with Notes, etc. Part I. London.

The Mountains and Lakes of Switzerland. By Mrs. Bray. In 3 vols. London.

Records of Wesley's Life. By a Layman. London.

Popular Traditions of England. First Series. By John Roby, Esq. In 3 vols. London.

The Old Testament ; with a Commentary, consisting of Short Lectures for the Daily Use of Families. By Rev. Charles Girdlestone. Part VI. Psalms 84—150, Solomon's Song. London.

Memoirs of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings, late Governor General of India. By Rev. G. R. Gleig, Author of the Life of Sir Thomas Munro. Vol. III. London.

The Civil History of the Jews, from Joshua to Adrian. By Rev. O. Cockayne, M. A. St. John's College, Cambridge. London.

Europe in 1840 ; with a Postscript. From the German of Wolfgang Menzel. London.

Antiquities of Ionia, Cnidus, Aphrodisias, Patara : with 74 engravings. Part III. London.

Thoughts on Phrenology. By a Barrister of the Middle Temple. London.

The Remnant Found : The Jews of Daghistan on the Caspian Sea, the Remnant of the Ten Tribes. By Rev. Jacob Samuel, Sen. Miss. to the Jews of India, Persia, Arabia. London.

Seven Sermons on Gideon. By Rev. Fountain Elwin. London.

Remains, etc., of Rev. John Davison, B. D. Oxford.

The Progress of Idolatry ; a Poem in Ten Books. By Sir Alexander Croke. In 2 vols. Oxford.

Deliciæ Literariæ ; a new Volume of Table Talk. London.

Recreations in Chemistry. By Thomas Griffiths. London.

Recreations in Geology. By Miss R. M. Zornlin. London.

Recreations in Physical Geography. By Miss R. M. Zornlin. London.

Recreations in Astronomy. By Rev. Lewis Tomlinson. London.

Recreations in Practical Astronomy. By Rev. G. Jeans. London.

History of India; the Hindoo and Mohammedan Periods. By Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone. In 2 vols. London.

Manners and Customs of the Japanese; from recent Dutch visitors. London.

The Life and Remains of the Rev. Robert Houseman. By Robert F. Houseman, Esq. London.

The Life and Letters of Beethoven. By Ignace Moscheles, Esq. In 2 vols. London.

History of the Reformation on the Continent. By George Waddington, D. D., Author of History of the Church. In 3 vols. London.

On Heroes, Hero-Worship and the Heroic in History. By Thomas Carlyle, Esq. London.

Six Months with the Chinese Expedition. By Lord Jocelyn. London.

Basil Montagu on Fermented Liquors. London.

GERMANY.

Allgemeine Weltgeschichte für alle Stände; bearbeitet und bis auf das Jahr 1839 fortgeführt: von Ludwig Bauer, Prof. etc. Stuttgart.

Das Königreich Bayern in seinen alterthümlichen, geschichtlichen, artistischen und malerischen Schönheiten. 1stes, 2tes Heft. München.

Ibn Challikani Vitæ Illustrum Virorum. E pluribus Codicibus manuscriptis inter se collatis nunc primum Arabice eciidit, variis Lectionibus, Indicibusque instruxit Ferdinandus Wüstenfeld. Fasc. VIII. et IX. Gottingæ.

Das Leben des Königs von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm des Dritten. 1ste Lief.

Leben und Thaten der heiligen Altväter in der ägyptischen Wüste. Aus dem Lateinischen nach der Sammlung des gelehrten und berühmten P. Heribert Rosweid u. s. w. 2te Lief. Regensburg.

Commentar über die Schriften des Evangelisten Johannes: von Dr. Friedrich Lücke, Prof. etc. 1ster Theil. 3te verbesserte Auflage. Bonn.

Deutsche Liederdichter des zwölfsten, dreizehnten und vierzehnten Jahrhunderts, aus allen bekannten Handschriften, etc.; von Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen. 4 Theile. Leipzig.

Griechische Prosaiker in neuen Uebersetzungen u. s. w. 196stes—201stes Bdchn. Auch u. den T. Aristoteles Werke, Organon, oder Schriften zur Logik, übersetzt von Dr. Karl Zell.—Aristoteles Werke, Schriften zur Rhetorik und Poetik, übersetzt von Dr. Leonhard Spengel u. Dr. Chr. Walz. Demosthenes Werke, übersetzt von Heinrich A. Pabst.—Claudius Aelianus Werke, übersetzt von Friedrich Jacobs. Stuttgart.

Die Propheten des Alten Bundes erklärt: von Heinrich Ewald. Band I. Stuttgart.

Die Briefe des grossen Indianer-Apostels des heiligen Franz von Xavier, etc.: übersetzt u. erklärt von Joseph Burg. Band III.

FRANCE.

- Aperçu sur l'Organisation des Sociétés: par M. Jules de Cachelen.
Branches d'Olivier; Recueil de Poésies Chrétiennes.
Deux Ans en Syrie et en Palestine: par Edouard Blondel.
Histoire de Grèce et d'Italie, depuis les Temps les plus reculés jusqu'à nos Jours: par A. A. Duponchel.
Histoire du Parlement de Normandie: par A. Flocquet. Tome II.
Histoire de la Révolution de France: par M. le Vicomte Félix de Conny. Tome VII.
Monuments d'Architecture Gothique, Romane, de la Renaissance; accompagnés de décorations, etc.
Système Financier de la France: par M. le Marquis d'Audiffret.
Traité de Chimie Organique: par M. Justus Liebig.
Traité Théorique et Pratique du Magnétisme Animal: par J. J. A. Ricard.
Trois (les) Ages de l'Architecture Gothique, son Origine, sa Théorie: rédigés par Just Popp et Théodore Buleau.
De la Politique Extérieure de la France au 29 Octobre 1840: par M. Gustave de Beaumont.
Esquisse d'une Philosophie: par F. Lamennais.
Etude Nouvelle des Phénomènes généraux de la Vie, ou Recherches sur la Vitalité, l'Organisation, les Races humaines et animales, etc.: par M. Gabillot.
Histoire Critique et Philosophique du Suicide: par le P. Appiano Buonafede; traduit de l'Italien, par G. Armellino et L. F. Guérin.
Leçons de Calcul Différentiel et de Calcul Intégral, rédigées d'après les Méthodes et les Ouvrages de M. Cauchy: par M. l'Abbé Moigne. Tome I.
Napoléon, sa Famille, ses Amis, ses Généraux, ses Ministres et ses Contemporains, ou Soirées secrètes de Luxembourg, des Tuileries, de Saint-Cloud, de la Malmaison, etc.: par M. le — Ex-Ministre, etc. Tome IV.
Observations et Recherches Expérimentales sur le Platine, considéré comme Agent Physiologique et Thérapeutique: par Ferdinand Hofer.
Elements de Tératologie Végétale; ou Histoire abrégée des Anomalies de l'Organisation dans ces Végétaux: par A. Moquin Tandon.
Théorie Complète de l'Expression de la Pensée: par M. Galaup.
Travail et Industrie; Histoires d'Artisans et d'Artistes devenus Célèbres: par Champagnac.

ITALY.

Opere Architetoniche di Raffaello Sanzio. Part I. Florence.
Corteggio inedito d'Artisti di Secoli XIV. XV. XVI. Vol. II. Florence.